JOURNAL OF THE ORIENTAL INSTITUTE

M. S. UNIVERSITY OF BARODA, BARODA

Edited by
S. G. Kantawala
DIRECTOR,
ORIENTAL INSTITUTE

Naṭarāja

Refer to Mr. Purushottama Bilimoria's article

सत्यं शिवं सुन्दरम्

Oriental Institute
BARODA

Vol. XXXIV] March–June 1985 [Nos. 3–4

CONTENTS

PAGE

The Vedic Lore and the Quest for Self—Biswanath Mukhopadhyay 129

The Nakṣatrakalpa and the Śāntikalpa—S. S. Bahulkar 135

Meghadūta—Criticism through Commentaries—N. V. P. Unithiri 141

Abhinavagupta on the Sandhyaṅgas in the Śākuntalam—S. G. Moghe 155

Naṭarāja (King of Dance), Viṣṇu and the Gods (A Case-Study in Hindu Symbolism)—Purushottam Bilimoria 161

Yantra Worship in the Śākta Centres of Gujarat—V. T. Padmaja 173

The Cultural Life as Depicted on Dabhoi Gates, Gujārat—Kamal Giri 181

Socio-Political Factors for Establishment of Ahmedabad—R. N. Mehta 193

Trade Economy on Coastal Gujarat in the Sixteenth Century—K. S. Mathew 201

Prākrit Dupparialla—Herman Tieken 217

Floral Toponymy of Vaḍodarā District—Indra G. Bhagia 241

The Neolithic of Kashmir : An Appraisal—Purushottam Singh 249

Journalism in Arabic—Maqsood Ahmad 253

Select Contents of Oriental Journals—P. H. Joshi 263

Reviews 269

Acknowledgements 283

Obituary 285

M. S. University Oriental Series No. 15

Mahāvākyādarśa of Jayarāma (Text, English Translation, Introduction and Index) — R. T. Vyas 33-66 i–xxvii

---

Printed by Shri P. N. Shrivastava, Manager, The Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda Press (Sadhana Press), near Palace Gate, Palace Road, Baroda, and published on behalf of the M. S. University of Baroda by MM. Prof. Dr. S. G. Kantawala, Director, Oriental Institute, Baroda, February, 1986.

Journal
of the
Oriental Institute
M. S. University of Baroda

Vol. XXXIV, Nos. 3 - 4
March-June 1985

THE VEDIC LORE AND THE QUEST FOR SELF

By

BISWANATH MUKHOPADHYAY*

Man is acclaimed as the best creation of the Creator in this Universe. The essence of man in his 'Mind' which has the capacity to meditate. But what does it meditate upon ? It has nothing to meditate upon excepting this universe or his creator, which have been ever-existing even before the appearance of man in this Universe. Then why does not man venture with his meditative mind to explore new and ever-unknown area exclusively in his own way to record a human contribution ? This is not feasible because as a created one he has to belong to this universe and can be never out of it, which psovides a stupendous stambling block in establishing his identity. Moreover, as man he has certain human limitations and short-comings, which also prevent him from taking any initiative to conceive of something beyond this universe. Further these short-comings sometimes become so forceful as to make him obsessed and so to say even unmindful also. So being born out of this universe, man has to revert his mind to a quest of this universe and its creator, and indeed he alone, amidst all creatures, is capable of thinking along this line and thus establishing his identity on this point only.

The mind of man thus from time immemorial has set in discovering and recognising this universe, and with its undaunted enthusiasm has advanced to

---

Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. 34, Nos. 3-4, March-June 1985 issue, pp. 129-133

* Department of Sanskrit, The University of Burdwan, Burdwan, (W. Bengal).

know the creator as well. This has been a long quest and he is yet to reach the goal. Truly, it is a rather difficult task because the creator as an artist loves his best creation much and never wants to re-emerge the image he shaped once with his inscrutable desire. On the other hand, man, being a part of this universe, feels knowingly or unknowingly the pulse of the universal spirit ; and with all his living organs, though he can know this universe or who can tell he may also have a chance to realise the creator with the gifted divine eye like Arjuna.[1] But he cannot know the very moment of his own creation or the process of his emergence as man in this Universe. He fails to recapitulate this because he had to tread the path of his being, silently and unknowingly with his incomplete, though gradually developing, form. This gives the incentive to man to study and analyse his own form and spirit scrutinizingly in order to have a glimpse of the way of his descent, and thereby the mood of the creator also, in the moment of his creation. But this self-analysis of man is nothing but analysing the universal elements present before his eyes in the perspective of realising their inner spirits with somewhat deeper insight.

Our Vedic seers with their keen insight had once established certain self-meditating principles, in which the human mind received a response to its utmost yearning, and which gave rise to the whole range of the vedic literature. The following is an analysis of these principles.

Prayers : While going to meditate over one's own self, one has to study the form of the Universal elements first in such a way as to be satisfied thereby to know the elements as a whole. And this requires penance ; otherwise one can at best know a particular matter in that form as present before his eyes and not in the perspective of entirety. When one sees anything in this way he becomes a ' Seer '. Thus our Vedic seers also had attained knowledge about the universal objects in the perspective of entirely. When one sees anything in this way, he becomes a ' seer '. Thus our Vedic seers also had attained knowledge about the universal objects in the perspective of entirety. This is nothing but the revelation of that form in its wide range and inner-spirit and as a result of the long-standing devotion regarding that matter. Thus to the eyes of the vedic seers ' *Agni* ', fire, appearing merely as a matter transforms into an eternal, immortal and divine entity. So we meet the seer proclaiming the famous *Ṛk* or verse of the *Ṛgveda*—" *Agnimīḍe purohitaṁ yajñasya devamṛtvijam. Hotāram ratnadhātamam* —(Rv.1.1.1), i.e. I pray to the fire as placed before me, who is both the god and the worshipper of the *Yajña* (the sacrifice) or especially the invoker (of god) and nay the bearer of the sacrificial boon too. The prayer here is for the omni-form fire or here the fire has been realised not alone in the material outlook but in its real and ever-standing form. But how does a man attain such divine vision ? It is an outcome of the long-standing penance and austerity of the prayerer and at the same time an inner aptitude of that element towards obtaining completness. That is why we listen to the seer saying—" *sa naḥ piteva sūnave agne sūpāyano bhava, sacasvā naḥ svastaye*". Rv. 1.1.9 i.e. the fire becomes approachable to the seer as a father to his son with cheering presentation. In this way, the seer, while meditating over any universal object, recognises the true form and spirit of that element. Such is the case with all other natural objects. Here the seer may be called a *Brahmacārin* i.e. an ascetic. The term '*Brahmacārin*' means one who roams in wideness—(*Brahmaṇi carati iti*). Our *Ṛgveda* is a record of the prayers by which our seers once recognised all the Universal elements in their true forms.

---

[1] Arjuna, the third brother of the Paṇḍavas, cf. " *divyaṁ dadāmi te cakṣuḥ paśya me yogamaiśvaram* ",—Gītā, XI.8.

In India this tradition of following the path of self-meditation goes on, and we see that this stage of life has been called—'*Brahmacarya*'—one of the four *Āśramas* of the ancient Hindu society, which is nothing but a reflection of the Āryan life-style prevalent in Vedic ages.

Performance : But suffering from certain human limitations and being embryonic in this universe, is it possible for a man to go for praying and recognizing the vastness of the Universal elements ? True, but the mind of man reverberating with the universal impulse gets an impetus and makes one resolve to move for meditating over the universal form, and this was the case with the Vedic seers as well. But merely knowing or recognizing the universal elements is not all, the meditator has to step further along the way to reach his goal. The meditator, an embodiment of universal elements, has to know now the particular role of those elements in his person i.e. in his own form, and this knowledge can be achieved if and when the meditator is able to make his knowledge, his past experience alive before him. So now he advances to the stage of performance, i.e. the performance of sacrifice. The idea transforms into practice. For example, the seer while meditating over fire, recognises it fully and feels that the fire present before his eyes and the fire in his body are alive. But the functioning of the fire in his inner body is unknown to him, and also the role of that fire at the time of his creation. So the meditator now concretizes his experience in the form of action making the element always fresh and alive before his eyes, which however reveals its own role in this universe and helps the seer to trace back its role in his own body also. Thus the performance of sacrifice is nothing but recognizing the position and role of the universal elements in one's inner form. By this one wants to remember the path of one's own creation. Indeed human beings are in the dark as to know the first man of this world, but in order to give him the shape of a man, all the elements present in him once gathered together inclining to form a shape ; this is the Mind of the creator. Thus through performance the seers wanted to have a glimpse of that situation, studying the nature and role of the bodily objects in him. Naturally, for the performance of sacrifice they followed the path of the Moon, the *chandramāḥ*, which however is said to be born out of the mind of the creator. (*candramā manaso jātaḥ*—Rv. 10.90.13).

The ‘ *Darśa-Pūrnamāsa* ’ sacrifice, or the ‘ new moon and full moon ’ sacrifice has been recognised as the model *prakṛti* of all sacrifices. It is obvious that if at any moment the meditator comes to know the merit of the creator, he surely receives the illuminating experience of knowing of the unknown path of his own creation. Our Brāhmaṇical literature deals with the sacrificial performances in details which were followed by our ancestors down the ages. In the post-vedic era this Brāhmaṇical culture was known as the *Gārhasthyāśrama*, the second stage of the Hindu life-span, where a *Brahmacārin* bidding good bye to his preceptor, took to a family life and led his life by properly applying his previous learning into practice. He is not now moving *carati* with his glowing vision beholding different aspects, but concentrates or regulates himself (*Gṛhastha*) beholding them before his eyes always.

Meditation : A man is not an incarnate of one element only. Unless he knows the inter-relations or the point of co-incidence of the universal elements in this universe and in his body, his self-meditation is not complete. So he now advances a step further, meditating on his past experience. To fulfil this he is to be freed from all disturbances experienced by him in his domestic life. So he goes in exile from that life, and leads a life of an ascetic pondering over the past experience. In the *Āraṇyakas* (i.e. the ‘ forest ’ texts) one comes across the records of this state of life preserved by our seers in detail. The *Āraṇyakas* deal with the significance of this universe and the sacrifice in the purview of unfolding the inter-connection of the existing elements in the universe, and in his body accordingly. Thus to a seer or meditator opens a new vista that is an illuminating and ever delighting state of experience as the meditator perceives the unknown. In the post-vedic literature this period of life has been described as ‘ *Vānaprastha* ’ (a departure to the forest) which means that he never returns to his country again. (*Prastha* = one who exits). Hence like a *Gṛhastha* i.e. one who resides in home, he is no longer a *Vanastha* (i.e. a dweller of the forest) but lives as one who has departed from his own family, and that is why this life is called *Vānaprastha*. The term *prastha* is here significant. Thus here the memory and recapitulation of his past life are his only asset, and not the phenomenon or the beauty of the forest.

Recognition : Now the fact is that only the mind of man induces him to mull over these issues and it is this mind which alone entitles a man to be the best type among all creatures. This should be known by a meditator. That is to complete the process of one's self-meditation one who wants to know or knows the mind of the creator, should have a knowledge of the individual mind and also the inter-relation of that mind with the mind of the creator. But how is it possible ? Because to know this he should require another mind and to know the same yet another mind which it is obvious, culminates in confusion and inconsistency. Then what is the mind ? What are its constituent parts ? How does it inter-mingle with the other bodily elements of man ? Why does it meditate ? Who initiates the mind ? These queries now confront a meditator. Surely the meditator in this state stands in a critical condition. Our ancient seers, however, have somehow solved this problem by way of induction. Truely in this state the only way which is open to a meditator is to muse over the nature of the creator's mind which however, has already been started in a subtle way, in the state of performance, and has also been developed in the state of meditation. Thus this is the fourth step in the process of self-meditation, which may also be called the state of Revelation or Recognition, or the state of mental concordance. The mind itself as said is the lord of all sense organs, restless, the light of light and divine etc. This is mere a resemblance or reflection of that 'Great mind' and nothing else. So while pondering the creator's mind, the meditator realises the very constituent parts of the mind ; and by knowing these parts as present in him, the meditator also knows by the process of induction the nature of his own mind. Thus in the Upaniṣads one comes across the learned discourse on the fundamental elements, such as life, soul, intelligence, *Ānanda* or bliss, intuition—and all the sense-organs in a wider back-ground. In the post-vedic era this period of life has been called *Yati* or '*Saṁnyāsa*'. The terms are very significant. The word '*Yati*' is derived from the root √⁻ *yam*, to restrain ; so here the meditator restrains himself i.e. the self-meditation now achieves Perfection, with the revelation of the divine mind. Similarly the term '*Saṁnyāsa*' is derived from the root *Sam – ni – ā* √⁻ *as* : The root √⁻ *as* means throwing or rejecting but with the prefix '*ā*' it means collecting or restoring. The prefix '*ni*' indicates certainty and the prefix '*Sam*' indicates resiprocity. Thus here in this stage the meditator restores himself to the creator ; and the creator also becomes enlivened having concentration. This is *Saṁnyāsa* or co-existing or inter-dependance between the creator and the meditator.

Thus in this state of inter-existing with each other, the meditator instead of going to attain particular achievement in the way of his own, with an unthinkable amount of immortal delight and love traverses back to be reunited with the ultimate reality. That is why it is not possible for a man to advance any further to establish his identity. Thus the ancient lore of India, through the Saṁhitās, Brāhmaṇas, Āraṇyakas and Upaniṣads, once wanted to highlight the life-standard of Indians and their stand in respect to the universe.

Journal of the M. S. University of Baroda

The Journal is published every year in three parts. These parts are devoted respectively to topics relating to (1) Humanities, (2) Social Sciences and (3) Science.

Advertisement tariff will be sent on request

Communications pertaining to the Journal should be addressed to :

The Editor (Humanities/Social Sciences/Science)
Journal of the M. S. University of Baroda
Faculty of Arts Compound
Baroda-390 002 (India)

THE NAKṢATRAKALPA AND THE ŚĀNTIKALPA

By

S. S. BAHULKAR.*

In this paper, I intend to discuss the problem of the relative chronology of the *Nakṣatrakalpa* (= *NK*)[1] and the *Śāntikalpa* (= *ŚK*)[2].

Before proceeding to the discussion, it is necessary to give here a brief account of these two *Kalpa*s.

The *NK* and the *ŚK* are counted among the five *Kalpa*s 'ritual texts' of the *Atharvaveda* (= *AV*)[3]. These five *Kalpa*s are : the *Saṁhitāvidhi* (i.e. the *Kauśikasūtra*), the *Vaitānaśrautasūtra*, the *NK*, the *Āṅgirasakalpa* and the *ŚK*. Both the *NK* and *ŚK* presuppose the knowledge of and rely upon the *Śaunaka* recension of the *AV* (= *AVŚ*) and the *Kauśikasūtra* (*KauśS*) as well.[4] Both the texts deal with ritual practices related to the constellations. They consist of prose and metrical passages. The metre of these passages is generally corrupt and resembles the archaic or epic style rather than the classical one— a common characteristic of the ancillary literature of the *AV*.

Besides being mentioned as one of the five *Kalpa*s of the *AV*, the *NK* is counted also as the first *Pariśiṣṭa* of the *AV*, (= *AVPari*), and there it is character-

---

Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. 34, Nos. 1-2, March-June 1985 issue, pp. 135-139.

* Shri Balamukunda Sanskrit Mahavidyalaya, Tilak Maharashtra Vidyapeeth, 1242, Sadashiv Peth, Pune-30.

[1] *The Pariśiṣṭas of the Atharvaveda*, ed. by Bolling, G. M. and Negelein, J., Leipzig, 1909, pp. 1-26; also the edition in Devanagari script, ed. by Ray, Ramkumar, Chaukhamba Orientalia, Varanasi, 1976, pp. 1-30.

[2] This text was partly published in the Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association, Vol. XXXV, pp. 77-127, 1904, and in *JAOS*, XXXIII, 1913, p. 265 ff. The former part is the second chapter of the text and the latter, the first.

[3] नक्षत्रकल्पो वैतानस्तृतीयः संहिताविधिः ।
चतुर्थ आङ्गिरसः कल्पः शान्तिकल्पस्तु पञ्चमः ॥

Caraṇavyūha, *AVPari*, 49.4.7.

[4] We know that when a certain text cites the *mantra*s by their *pratīka*s, it presupposes the collection of these *mantra*s, i.e. the *Saṁhitā*. Moreover, the text belongs to the tradition of that *Saṁhitā*.

ised by the designation *Kṛttikārohiṇī.*[5] The *NK* enumerates the twenty-seven constellations beginning with *Kṛttikā* and mentions the deities presiding over them, the objects affected by the constellations, the omens and portents, divination and ritual practices related to the constellations, the *mantra*s in praise of the deities presiding over the constellations (*nakṣatradaivatāḥ mantrāḥ*), and the ritual of *nakṣatrasnāna* etc. The *nakṣatradaivatāḥ mantrāḥ* in the *NK* (= *AVPari* 1.37-41) are also found in the *Śk* (II.7-11).

The *ŚK* consists of two *Adhyāya*s. It describes the worship and propitiation of *Vināyaka*s and of the planets ; it contains verses for invitation to and in praise of the constellations, ceremony for averting the evil effects of portents, and the ritual of *Mahāśānti*s.

In connection with the *ŚK*, G. M. Bolling observes : " It presupposes a knowledge of the *Atharvan Saṁhitā* in the Śaunaka recension and also of the *Kauśikasūtra*. Its dependence upon the latter text is evidenced, not only by the fact that it cites (15.5 ; 18.2) by *pratīka* the *mantra*s of *Kauśika* 97.8, but also by a very consistent maintenance of the Kauśikan tradition of the manipulation of the hymns that not infrequently extends even to verbal correspondences. This cannot fail to strengthen the credit of our text for the treatment of such hymns as are not rubricated in the *Kauśika*. Such hymns are found especially in the nineteenth book of the *Saṁhita*, upon which our text draws freely in a way that shows its advance from the standpoint of the Kauśika, a fact that is evinced also in its greater elaboration of ceremonies common to both texts "[6].

As regards the mutual relationship of these two texts, in point of time, Bolling further says : " Our text (i.e. *ŚK*) seems to have drawn upon the *Nakṣatrakalpa*, though perhaps the relations of the two texts may better be explained by the assumption of a common source ".[7] Elsewhere he points out that the list of the *dakṣiṇā*s is evidently drawn from a metrical source which (or a reproduction of which) is found in the *Nakṣatrakalpa*, 47-50[8]. Bolling thus suggests that the *NK* is anterior to the *ŚK*. This suggestion of Bolling has somehow failed to invite attention of scholars till this day. As such, I have taken it up.

It is already stated that the *NK* and the *ŚK* presuppose the knowledge of the *AVŚ* and the *KauśS*. Here we must see the extent of the *AVŚ*, the vulgate, which was at the basis of the employment of the *mantra*s in the *NK* and the *ŚK*. It is generally accepted that the *KauśS* presupposes the knowledge of only the first eighteen *Kāṇḍa*s of the *AVŚ*, for, except a few hymns occurring in the nineteenth *Kāṇḍa*, the hymns and *mantra*s from the last two *Kāṇḍa*s are absent in the *KauśS*. Therefore, it seems that the last two *Kāṇḍa*s (i.e. *Kāṇḍa*s XIX and XX) were compiled in a later period, i.e., sometime after the composition of the *KauśS* was completed.[9] We have already seen that the *ŚK* employs a number of hymns from the nineteenth *Kāṇḍa* by their *pratīka*s. Thus the *AVŚ*, which forms the basis of the employment for the *ŚK*, consisted of at least nineteen *Kāṇḍa*s. The twentieth *Kāṇḍa* was obviously compiled for the purpose of the *Śrauta* ritual ; it does not come within the scope of the *ŚK*. It may therefore be accepted that the *ŚK* was composed sometime after *Kāṇḍa* XIX was composed and added to the main corpus of the *AVŚ* consisting of eighteen *Kāṇḍa*s.

---

[5] *Caraṇavyūha*, *AVPari*, 49.4.9.

[6] Bolling, G. M. *The Śāntikalpa of the Atharvaveda*, Transactions...... (see note 2 above), p. 80.

[7] Bolling, G. M. *loc. cit.*

[8] Bolling, G. M. *ibid.*, p. 83.

Now, we shall turn to the *NK*.

In the *NK*, we find that the hymns *AVŚ* XIX. 7 and 8 have been cited in full (*NK*, *AVPari* 1.11.1-5 and 26.1-7)[10]. The hymns are in praise of the *nakṣatra*s and the same appear to have been designated as *nakṣatrastuti*s in the *NK* (*AVPari* 1.42.4). This text employs by *pratika*s some of the hymns from *Kāṇḍa*s I-XVIII (*NK* 23.4 ; 36.1, 2, 4). The hymns from the *Kāṇḍa* XIX, excepting the two mentioned above, are neither cited by *pratika*s nor given in *sakalapāṭha*. This fact shows that the *NK* was composed and incorporated in the ancillary literature after the composition of the *KauśS* was completed, but, before the compilation of *Kāṇḍa* XIX of the *AVŚ*.

It naturally follows therefore that the *NK* is anterior to the *ŚK*.

Here, by the word *NK*, we generally understand the whole of the text of the *NK* which is counted as the first *Pariśiṣṭa* of the *AV*. But a question arises : is the entire text of the *NK* a homogeneous one ? or is there any reason to suspect that the materials, which were collected for the composition of the *NK* hail from different sources, of somewhat individual character, and that these were not properly worked over by the redactor ?

In this connection, it is significant to note that the *NK* bears one more name, viz., the *Kṛttikārohiṇī*. But this fact alone would not suffice to prove that there existed two different works, namely, the *NK* and the *Kṛttikārohiṇī*. In the tradition of the *AV*, the *KauśS* is known by one more designation, i.e., the *Saṁhitāvidhi* and these are two titles of one and the same work. We find some other evidences which would strengthen our suspicion. The *Caraṇavyūha* of the *AV* (*AVPari* 49.4.7-9) counts the *NK* as one of the five *Kalpa*s of the *AV*. Again, while enumerating the seventy-two *Pariśiṣṭa*s of the *AV*, it mentions the *Kṛttikārohiṇī* as the first *Pariśiṣṭa* among them. One who does not have the knowledge of the ancillary literature of the *AV*, would here logically think that the *NK* and the *Kṛttikārohiṇī* are two different works.

---

[9] Ed. by Lanman, C. R. *The Atharvaveda Saṁhitā*, English translation by Whitney, W. D., Vol. II, reprinted by Motilal Banarsidas, 1962, p. 896. For a detailed discussion, see my doctoral thesis *Bhaiṣajyāni in the Kauśikasūtra* (a typed copy in Poona University), 1977, pp. 52, 109.

[10] Bolling and Negelein opine : "It seems that this *Pariśiṣṭa* originated in the Paippalāda school and that this is the reason for its citation of *AV*.XIX 7 and 8 in full" *op. cit.* p. 2. But the hymn *AV* XIX.7 is not found in the *Paippalāda* recension, at least in its Kashmir recension. Some other *mantras* cited by *pratīka*s are found in the *AVŚ* only. This evidently shows that the *NK* belongs to the *AVŚ*.

Secondly, a further evidence in support of this assumption is the internal evidence furnished by the *NK* itself. The 36th section of the *NK* ends with a passage *yo abhyu babhruṇāyasi*.... quoted *ad verbatim* from the *KauśS* 46.55. The words at the end of this passage *abhyavakaśe saṁviśati* are quoted twice in the *KauśS* and in the *NK* as well[11]. The repetition of the final words marks, as we know, the end of a çhapter or of the whole text. In the case of the *KauśS*, it denotes the end of chapter V of that text. The repetition of these words in the *NK*, provided it is not merely a scribal mistake, would indicate either the end of the chapter or of the entire text. Any way, here we have some ground to suspect that the sections 1-36 of the *NK* form one part of the *NK* and those beginning with section 37 and ending with section 50, the other. The 37th section begins with the *mantra*s in praise of the deities presiding over the constellations (*nakṣatra-daivatāḥ mantrāḥ*) which are also found in the *ŚK* II.7-11. There is also considerable difference between the contents and the composition of these two parts. The first part enumerates the constellations, deities presiding over them, the omens and portents, divination and the ritual connected with them. This part is metrical and prose as well. The second part cites the *mantra*s mentioned above (i.e. the *nakṣatrastutis* common to both the *NK* and the *ŚK*), and the ritual of *nakṣatrasnāna*. This part is completely metrical. At the end of this part, the *mantra*s in praise of *Śakadhūma* are cited in full. This is an appendix to the text. The colophon at the end tells that these *mantra*s are borrowed from the *Paippalāda* recension of the *AV* which are employed by the *pratīka*, *yad rājānam*.... at *NK* 24.3. This appendix indicates that the first part (i.e. sections 1-36, though belonged to the *AVŚ*, borrowed the *mantra*s from the *Paippalāda*, their being current in the ritualistic tradition of the *AVŚ*.

What is more significant is that the second part of the *NK* is hardly related to the *AVŚ* proper. The *mantra*s cited therein cannot be traced to any known *Saṁhitā* of the *Veda*s. Besides these *mantra*s, this part employs the *Sāvitrī*, the *Śāntisūkta*s, the *Mahāvyāhṛti*s, verses in praise of waters, *pavitra mantra*s and the

---

[11] Out of twelve MSS collated by the editors, three MSS omit the repetition.

*nakṣatrastuti*s, without mentioning the actual *mantra*s meant by these designations. Most of these *mantra*s may be considered as commonplace Vedic literature, particularly of the recensions of the *AV*. They need not be treated as belonging to the *AVŚ* exclusively. Therefore, it may be inferred that the present text of the *NK* consists of two different parts. We may further conjecture that the first part was originally designated as the *Kṛttikārohiṇī*, because the title of the text seems to have been given after the initial words *kṛttikā rohiṇī* [12]... The second part may be called the *NK* proper. Thus when we say that the *NK* is anterior to the *ŚK*, it means, strictly speaking, the first part of it, viz., the original text of the *Kṛttikārohiṇī*.

Now, it is rather difficult to ascertain whether the second part also is anterior to the *ŚK*. The *nakṣatradaivatāḥ mantrāḥ* are cited in full in both the texts. We further find that the verses beginning with *kṛttikābhiḥ pāyasam*.. i.e. the verses describing the offerings to the constellations are summarised in prose in the *ŚK* (II.13 ff). At the end of this section, the verses *nakṣatrāṇām yathā somaḥ*.. is cited in a corrupt form. One cannot assume that such kind of prose in the *ŚK* was the original one and that the metrical portion was an afterthought; the metrical portion in the *NK* must have been reproduced in the *ŚK* in a corrupt manner. We can therefore say with quite an amount of certainty that the entire text of the *NK* is anterior to the *ŚK*. Bolling has rightly pointed out that there are three strata in the present text of the *ŚK*.[13] According to him, these strata are : the text proper, the twentyeight *śloka*s of the *āvāhana* and the *nakṣatradaivatāḥ mantrāḥ*. The last two portions must have been borrowed from different sources and must have been rubricated in the ritual of *Śānti*.

Conclusions :

(1) The chronological sequence of the *AVŚ* and the *NK* may be stated as follows :

AVŚ (*Kāṇḍas* I-XVIII)
↓
KauśS
↓
NK (*Kṛttikārohiṇī*)
AVŚ (*Kāṇḍa* XIX)
↓
ŚK

(2) The present text of the *NK* presents two strata, the former may be called as the *Kṛttikārohiṇī* and the latter, the *NK*.

---

[12] A similar case is found in the *Carakasaṁhitā*, where the names of the chapters are given after the initial words. For instance, the second and the third *Pāda*s of the *Rasāyaṇādhyāya*, are called *Prāṇakāmīya* and *Karapracitīya*, respectively.

[13] Bolling, G. M. *op. cit.*, p. 90.

સ્વાધ્યાય

સ્વાધ્યાય અને સંશોધનનું ત્રૈમાસિક

૧. વર્ષમાં ચાર અંક બહાર પડે છે—દીપોત્સવી અંક, વસંતપંચમી અંક, અક્ષયતૃતીયા અંક અને જન્માષ્ટમી અંક.

૨. **લવાજમ :**

—ભારતમાં....રૂ. ૨૦=૦૦ પૈ. (ટપાલખર્ચ સાથે)

—પરદેશમાં : યુનાઈટેડ સ્ટેટ્સ ઑફ અમેરિકા માટે....૬ ડૉલર (ટપાલખર્ચ સાથે)

યુરોપ અને અન્ય દેશો માટે....પૌં. ૨.૫૦ (ટપાલખર્ચ સાથે)

૩. આખા વર્ષના ગ્રાહકો લવાજમના વર્ષની શરૂઆતથી જ નોંધવામાં આવે છે. લવાજમ અગાઉથી સ્વીકારવામાં આવે છે. લવાજમ મોકલતી વખતે કયા વૉલ્યુમ માટે લવાજમ મોકલ્યું છે તે સ્પષ્ટ જણાવવું. લવાજમ 'ડાયરેક્ટર, ઓરિયેન્ટલ ઇન્સ્ટિટ્યુટ, વડોદરા–૩૯૦ ૦૦૨' એ નામે મોકલવું. લવાજમ વર્ષ નવેમ્બરથી ઑક્ટોબર સુધીનું ગણાય છે.

૪. **જાહેરાતો :**

આ ત્રૈમાસિકમાં જાહેરાતો આપવા માટે લખો—

સંપાદક, 'સ્વાધ્યાય', પ્રાચ્યવિદ્યા મન્દિર, લોકમાન્ય ટિળક રોડ,
વડોદરા–૩૯૦ ૦૦૨

૫. **લેખકોને વિજ્ઞપ્તિ**

'સ્વાધ્યાય'માં પ્રસિદ્ધ થવા માટે, પાનની એક જ બાજુએ, શાહીથી સુવાચ્ય અક્ષરે લખેલા લેખો મોકલવા લેખકોને વિનંતી છે; શક્ય હોય તો લેખ ટાઈપ કરી મોકલવા જરૂરી છે. ગૂજરાત વિદ્યાપીઠના જોડણીકોશ પ્રમાણેની જોડણી રાખવી આવશ્યક છે. લેખની મૂળ પ્રત જ મોકલવી. લેખની કાર્બન નકલ મોકલો ત્યારે તે અંગેનું સ્પષ્ટ કારણ જણાવવું.

પ્રાચ્યવિદ્યા મન્દિર,
મ. સ. વિશ્વવિદ્યાલય,
લોકમાન્ય ટિળક રોડ,
વડોદરા–૩૯૦ ૦૦૨

સુરેશચન્દ્ર ગો. કાંટાવાળા
સંપાદક

MEGHADŪTA—CRITICISM THROUGH COMMENTARIES

By

N. V. P. UNITHIRI*

There are more than fifty commentaries on Kālidāsa's *Meghadūta* (MD),[1] of which *Sañjīvanī* of Mallinātha (ML),[2] *Vidyullatā* of Pūrṇasarasvatī (PS),[3] *Cāritravardhinī* of Cāritravardhana (CV),[4] *Pradīpa* of Dakṣiṇāvartanātha (DK),[5] and *Sumanoramaṇī* of *Ṛṣiputra* Parameśvara (RP),[6] *Pañcikā* of Vallabhadeva[7] are famous. All these commentators have subscribed their own contribution to the appreciation and critical study of the well-known *Sandeśakāvya.* Through a comparative study of the above-mentioned commentaries, it is hoped, a general idea of the *Meghadūta*-criticism according to traditional Indian method can be revealed.

Readings :

First let us take the problem of variant readings in MD and the necessity of choosing one among them. In literary works variant readings may occur on two accounts. The author himself might have composed one and the same verse or line in two different ways and hence the appearance of one kind of variant readings. The other is due to widespread use. Thus in course of time the text becomes corrupt by additions and omissions.

The Vedas which had been transmitted through strictly-followed oral traditions could, to a large extent, retain the original text without much interpolations or variant readings. Buddhist works were said to be kept unpolluted through the fixation of correct text by learned assemblies convened once in a century or so by religious heads or sovereigns like Aśoka and Kaniṣka. But in the maintenance of the correct and original text of Kāvyas and Nāṭakas and the like no such arrangements were in existence with, perhaps, the exception of the oral traditions

---

Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. 34, Nos. 3-4 March-June 1985 issue, pp. 141 to 154

* Dept. of Sanskrit, Calicut University, Calicut (Kerala).

[1] Dr. De, S. K. (Ed.) *Meghadūta*, Sahitya Akademi, New Delhi, 1957.

[2] Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series, Benaras, 1968.

[3] Krishnmacharyar, R. V. (Ed.) Vani Vilas Sanskrit Series, No. 15, 1926.

[4] Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series, Benaras, 1968.

[5] Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, No. 64, 1919.

[6] University Manuscripts Library, Trivandrum, 1946.

[7] Included in *Kāvyasārasaṅgraha*, Bombay, 1929.

of *Gurukulas* and the written discussions on or references to variant readings in the commentaries on them. Probably, these two might have been inter-dependent. This was so, it appears, at least in Kerala. PS, in one of the verses at the end of *Vid*, which ironically refers to the boldness of those commentators who change readings in the works of eminent authors at their own will, indicates that *Gurukulas* sustained the original readings through ages. The verse is as follows:

सुकविवचसि पाठानन्यथाकृत्य मोहाद्
रसगतिमवधूय प्रौढमर्थं विहाय ।

विबुधवरसमाजे व्याक्रियाकामुकानां
गुरुकुलविमुखानां धृष्टतायै नमोऽस्तु ॥ [8]

A modern researcher aims at finding the original reading, irrespective of its grammatical correctness or incorrectness, or relative propriety or impropriety. Ancient Sanskrit commentators, on the other hand, insisted on the choice of the best reading from the available variants, because their emphasis was only on the propriety of a reading in relation to *Rasa*. This is especially so in the case of Keralite commentators. PS stands foremost among them. At the same time, it is to be noticed that PS satisfies modern researchers also to a certain extent when he favours what appears to be the original reading irrespective of its grammatical correctness or incorrectness.

Commentators like DK and ML, in the course of their commentaries, offer discussions on variant readings occasionally. PS does this only in very few cases. We can have an idea, however, about his concept of the correct reading from the text accepted by him. Based on this, a comparative study can easily be made.

The readings adopted by PS may be analysed on the basis of three factors :

(a) correctness, (b) propriety and (c) power to suggest *Rasa*.

(a) *Correctness :*

It is likely that certain original readings got corrupted in the course of ages and incorrect readings became popular. Of such readings which are accepted by many commentators, PS traces the original correct readings and points out the incorrectness of the popular ones. For example, almost all the commentators on *MD* read '*Vīcikṣobhastanitavihaga*', etc. (MD. I.28). PS points out that neither the sound of the birds nor the jingling of a girdle can be aptly conveyed by the word '*stanita*'. '*Svanita*' might be the correct reading according to him. He writes : "*Svaniteti pāṭhaḥ, stanitasya śakuna raśanākalāpe cāprasiddheḥ*".[9]

---

[8] *Vid.*, p. 174.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 44.

There are also instances of certain readings accepted by PS which are rejected by others on grammatical grounds. In such cases PS gives the reading as seen by him in the text irrespective of its grammatical correctness or incorrectness. With due respect for the author, sometimes, he points out what exactly is the incorrectness in the accepted reading. To cite an example, ML, DK and other prominent commentators read '*svādhikārāt pramattaḥ*' in the verse MD I.1. On the other reading '*svādhikārapramattaḥ*' DK even writes that the formation of the compound cannot be easily explained ("*svādhikārapramatta iti pāṭhe samāsaḥ kṛcchralabhyaḥ*")[10]. PS, however, gives the reading '*svādhikārapramattaḥ*' and without any difficulty explains it thus :

"स्वाधिकारप्रमत्तः स्वेन आत्मना अङ्गीकृते अधिकारे कार्यधुरायां निधिपालनादौ ...प्रमत्तः अनवहितः...अथवा भर्तुः स्वे स्वीये अधिकारे यक्षराजपदे प्रमत्तः यथोचितं समुदाचारमुल्लङ्घितवान् ।" 11
Vallabha also reads "*svādhikārapramattaḥ*".[12]

At times many commentators turn purists and attempt grammatical improvements on and corrections of the original text. PS does not fall in this presumptuous group. Accepting the original text as such with all its grammatical incorrectness, he simply points out the defect therein. A typical example may be cited : CV, DK, and ML read '*tālaiḥ śiñjāvalayasubhagaiḥ*' in the verse, *MD* II.17. They do not accept the reading '*tālaiḥ śiñjadvalayasubhagaiḥ*' because it is grammatically incorrect. They strain considerably to explain their reading. CV explains :

"शिञ्जा शिञ्जितं तद्युक्तानि वलयानि तैः सुभगैः" 13
But lexicons do not seem to approve the word '*śiñjā*' as synonym of '*śiñjitam*' (jingling).[14]

Giving the same explanation DK points out the incorrectness of the other reading :

"शिञ्जा शिञ्जितं, शिञ्जावन्ति वलयानि शिञ्जावलयानि शाखावृक्षवत्समासः । शिञ्जद्वलयसुभगैरिति पाठे शिजि अव्यक्ते शब्दे इत्ययं धातुरात्मनेपदी । तस्मात् परस्मैपदं न भवति ।" 15
Taking the reading '*Śiñjadvalayasubhagaiḥ*', PS observes that the root '*śiji avyakte śabde*' is *ātmanepadin* and hence this usage in *parasmaipada* is to be reconsidered :

---

[10] *Pradīpa*, p. 2.

[11] *Vid.*, p. 3.

[12] *Pañcikā*, p. 1.

[13] *Cāritravardhinī*, p. 92.

[14] ML quotes only *Amara* according to which only the word '*śiñjitam*' has the meaning jingling of ornaments ("*Bhūṣaṇānām śiñjitam*" vide *Sañjīvanī*, p. 92).

[15] *Pradīpa*, p. 50.

" शिञ्जद्वलयसुभगैः तदनुगुणरणन्मणिकङ्कणस्पृहणीयैः, मधुरतरवाद्यविशेषमनीषोन्मेषात् । 'शिजि अव्यक्ते शब्दे' इत्ययं धातुरात्मनेपदी, अतः परस्मैपदित्वं चिन्त्यम् ।" 16

Here, Vallabhadeva, it can be assumed, is followed by PS. He also reads :

" शिञ्जद्वलयसुभगैः "

and comments on it as follows :

" शिञ्जेरात्मनेपदित्वात् शिञ्जदिति प्रयोगः प्रमादजः । अनित्यो वानुदात्तेदात्मनेपदविधिः ।" 17

It is worthy of note that Vallabha and PS have shown here intellectual honesty of a high order. This approach is commendable from the point of view of literary research, unlike that of DK and others,[18] who, apparently, did not hesitate in changing an original reading in order to make it grammatically faultless. It is also to be pointed out that the present participle '*Śiñjad*' suggests the continuity of the jingling sound of the bangles and the effect of the simultaneous occurrence of the time beating (*tāla*) of the heroine and the dance of her peacock. Thus the reading '*śiñjadvalayasubhagaiḥ*' enhances the poetic beauty of the verse in a large measure even if it may not be perfect from the point of view of grammar.

(b) *Propriety* :

Most of the readings chosen by PS are quite proper in the context and therefore we can assume that they are the original ones. For example, all the commentators of *MD*, with the single exception of PS, read '*pulakitamiva prauḍhapuṣpaiḥ kadambaiḥ*' in the verse, I.24. PS's reading is '*aprauḍhapuṣpaiḥ*'[19] He reveals the propriety of the expression saying that the buds are easily the best standard of comparison for horripilation. He explains as follows :

" अप्रौढपुष्पैः अपरिणतमुकुलैः, कुड्मलानामेव पुलकसाम्यप्रसिद्धेः " 20

We can conclude that this must have been the correct text not only on aesthetic grounds but also on the basis of the indication given by the most ancient commentator Vallabhadeva, that some read here as "*aprauḍaḥ*".[21]

---

16 *Vid.*, p. 117.

17 *Pañcikā*, p. 29.

18 Also vide Dr. S. V. Iyer, "Meghasandeśa Tradition in Kerala", *Vishweshwaranand Indological Journal*, Vol, III, Part I, p. 62.

19 *Vid.*, p. 41.

20 *Ibid.* See also the following verse of Bhavabhūti :

प्रथमप्रियावचनसंश्रवस्फुरत्-
पुलकेन सम्प्रति मया विडम्ब्यते ।
घनराजिनूतनपयस्समुक्षण-
क्षणबद्धकुड्मलकदम्बडम्बरः ॥" (*Mālatīmādhava*, III. 7).

21 " केचित्तु अप्रौढेति पेठुः मुकुलितत्वाच्च पुलकाकारतामाहुः " (*Pañcikā*, p. 11).

The second line of the verse, *MD*, II, 8. is " *dūrāllakṣyam surapatidhanuścāruṇā toraṇena* " according to ML and CV. PS and DK read ' *tvadamaradhanus* ' for ' *surapatidhanus* '. This seems to be a better reading because this, as in so many instances in *MD*, involves the messenger in the object described. DK puts it thus :

" त्वदमरधनुश्चारुणा तोरणेनेति मेघसम्बन्धः उक्तः " 22

It is also to be noticed that all other verses describing Alakā bear this kind of involvement of the messenger.

(c) *Power to suggest Rasa* :

Some of the examples cited above reveal that the readings accepted by PS are more efficacious in suggesting the principal sentiment of the poem. Concentration on *Rasa* is one of the leading traits of PS as a commentator. This is also the motive which guides him in the selection of readings. Examples are many to prove this fact ; some of them may be mentioned.

The verse *MD* I.3 has the reading , *Kautukōdhānahetoḥ* ' according to DK, ML and others. DK criticises the variant reading ' *Ketakādhānahetoḥ* '. He explains that ' *Kautuka* ' means the desire for amorous pleasure. Then he raises an objection to the reading ' *Ketakādhāna* ' saying that it suggests obscurity. His observation runs as follows :

" कौतुकाधानहेतोरिति पाठः । कौतुकं कामाविषयौत्सुक्यम् । कौतुकार्पणहेतोरित्यर्थः । ... केतकाधानहेतोरिति पाठे केतकानां गर्भाधानहेतोरित्यर्थः किल भवेत् । इदमत्यन्तश्लाघ्यविशेषणं न स्यादिति बोद्धव्यम् । " 23

The explanation of PS of the expression ' *Ketakādhānahetoḥ* ', makes it clear that the observation of DK is completely baseless. By that expression, PS points out that the entire atmosphere of the poem with the cloud above and the rain-sprinkled earth below is concretely presented and the preparation made by the rainy season with the help of Cupid to attack the hero in his sorrow of separation is fully suggested. He says :

" केतकाधानहेतोः परिमलबहलकेतकीकुसुमनिकरोत्पादननिमित्तभूतस्य । अनेन कुसुमास्त्रसाहाय्यसन्नाहो ध्वन्यते । " 24

It is to be noted that Vallabha's reading is also
" केतकाधानहेतोः " 25

---

22 *Pradīpa*, p. 48; Vallabha also reads the same. तद् for त्वद् may be a printing mistake (*Pañcikā*, 27).

23 *Ibid.*, p. 34.

24 *Vīd.*, p. 9.

25 *Pañcikā*, p. 2.

The verse, *MD*, I. 29, is important with its different readings, '*Salilāsāvatītasya*' (*Salilā+asau+atītasya*) is ML's reading.[26] MD thinks that the 'Sindhu' mentioned in this verse is the same river Nirvindhyā, mentioned in the previous verse. He rejects the reading '*tāmatītasya*' saying that there is no '*nadī*' by the name 'Sindhu'. There is only a '*nada*' of that name and that too in Kashmir. ML observes as follows :

> "अतीतस्य एतावन्तं कालमतीत्य गतस्य, प्रेषितस्येत्यर्थः । ते एव...असौ पूर्वोक्ता सिन्धुर्नदी निर्विन्ध्या ।...तामतीतस्य इति पाठमाश्रित्य सिन्धुर्नाम नद्यन्तरमिति व्याख्यातम् । किन्तु सिन्धुर्नाम कश्चिन्नदः काश्मीरदेशेऽस्ति । नदी तु कुत्रापि नास्तीत्युपेक्ष्यमित्याचक्षते ।" 27

He has a different reading, as '*salilā+sā+tvatītasya*'. He explains :

> "सा त्वतीतस्य इति पाठः । सा निर्विन्ध्या...सिन्धुर्नदी...सा सिन्धुः...[28]

He also rejects the reading '*tāmatītasya*' and it appears that ML is guided here by DK. DK's argument runs thus :

> "तामतीतस्य इति पाठमादृत्य सिन्धुरिति नद्यन्तरमुच्यते इति केचिद्वदन्ति । तदानीमर्थश्चापुष्टः । अत्र देशे सिन्धुरिति कापि नदी नास्ति । काश्मीरेषु सिन्धुः प्रवहतीत्यनुसन्धेयम् ।" 29

PS, however, accepts the reading which these veteran commentators found unacceptable. Vallabhadeva and CV also have accepted the reading '*tāmatītasya*'. PS explains this as follows :

> "तां निर्विन्ध्याम् । सिन्धुरिति नाम्ना प्रसिद्धा कापि नदीः" 30

The argument levelled against this reading by DK and ML, namely, that there is no such '*nadī*', is disproved by modern investigations according to which this river is identified with Kālīsindhu, a tributary of the river Chambal. The existence of the river goes to indicate that the correct reading must necessarily be '*tāmatītasya sindhuḥ*' '*tām*' referring to Nirvindhyā and Sindhu referring to the river Kālīsindhu. Moreover, such a reading enhances the poetical charm of the passage considerably. Nirvindhyā in the previous verse appears to be a perennial river, and the river Sindhu referred to in this verse appears to be a seasonal river. In any case, that they present two different pictures of two kinds of heroines experiencing different kinds of *Śṛṅgārāvasthā*s is worthy of note from the point of view of the principal sentiment.[31]

---

26 *Sañjīvanī*, p. 36.
27 *Ibid*.
28 *Pradīpa*, p. 23.
29 *Ibid*,
30 *Vid*, p. 45.
31 Vide, Dr. S. V. Iyer, *op. cit.* p. 63.

We come across another happy reading in the verse, *MD*, II, 35, where '*saṅkalpaistairviśati*' is the reading accepted by almost all commentators. ML explains the word '*taiḥ*' is "by those that could be known only himself", which has, in fact, no purpose to serve in the context : "*Taiḥ, svasaṃvedyaiḥ saṅkalpaiḥ manorathaiḥ*[32]. According to Vallabhadeva and PS the reading is '*te*' and not '*taiḥ*'. PS explains it as 'relating to the heroine'. See his observation :

"सङ्कल्पैः मनोरथैः । ते, एवं मम प्रियतमं आश्लिष्यामीति तद्भावभावनोपपादितायास्तवेत्यर्थः ।[33]

Needless to say this reading enhances the poignancy of the principal sentiment of the poem.

Interpolations

It is well-known that many ancient texts as we have them now suffer from a lot of interpolations. It seems they accumulate in proportion to the reputation of the poet! But some commentators help us to a certain extent sort out the genuine from the spurious.

As regards *MD*, the shortest version of 110 verses is the one accepted by PS. DK and Parameśvara also are with him in this respect.[34] Ancient commentators like Vallabhadeva and Sthiradeva have accepted a text of 111 verses.[35] All the nineteen verses[36] that are considered by Dr. S. K. De as interpolations along with the 70th verse ("*Gatyutkampād alakapatitair*, etc".) which is included by De in his edition should be considered interpolations on the basis of PS's text. This reveals that PS is one among those commentators who, following the Gurukula tradition, have tried their best to preserve the unpolluted original texts of the ancient poets, especially *MD*.

Poetic appreciation, etc.

In the matter of appreciation of poetic beauty *Vid*, stands first among the commentaries on *MD*. Here we may compare the commentaries of Vallabhadeva, ML, DK, CV and PS on the celebrated *MD* verse, "*Śyāmāsvaṅgam cakitahariṇīprekṣaṇe dṛṣṭipātam*" etc. Vallabhadeva just explains the meaning of the words with *anvaya*[37] ML begins his commentary with a quotation from *Guṇapatākā* describing the four devices for the recreation of those who suffer from pangs of separation. He then points out that the present verse contains the first device among them, namely, the sight of similar objects. After giving the prose-order with explanation of all the words he proceeds to quote from lexicons and grammatical treatises. Incidentally he refutes the possibility of a poetic blemish, *anuktaguṇagraha*, and in support of it he quotes the rule from *Rasaratnākara*. Lastly, ML discloses the suggestion in the verse, that the heroine's beauty is incomparable.[38]

---

[32] *Sañjīvanī*, p. 114.

[33] *Pañcikā*, p. 36; *Vid*. p. 152. With the reading '*taiḥ*' before him Isvarachandra Vidyasagar points out the need for the word '*te*' in the verse, and this fully supports the reading of PS. Vidyasagar writes :

तैरिति तच्छब्दप्रयोगस्यानुपयोगात् युष्मच्छब्दप्रयोगाभावे त्वदीयमङ्गमित्यस्य बोधयितुमशक्यत्वाच्च ।"
(Quoted by Dr. S. K. De *op. cit*. p. 73, f.n. 99).

[34] Vide Appendix V to the *Sumanoramaṇī*, pp. 109-116.

[35] For details, vide Dr. S. K. De, *op. cit*. introduction, pp. xvii-xxvi.

[36] *Ibid*. text pp. 46, 47, 50, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 70, 74, 76, 77, 78 footnotes. Also vide Appendix IV to the *Sumanoramaṇī*

DK avoids quotations from lexicons and grammatical treatises. The introduction is the same as that of ML.[39] He confines his commentary to the explanation of words and revealing of the suggestion which is, according to him, different from what is pointed out by ML. DK observes that the address 'Caṇḍi' is used in a humorous tone. It reveals the heart of the hero who wishes that his beloved should not be angry towards him thinking thus : 'If you get all the objects similar to me in one and the same place and if you may satisfy yourself with them, then what about me ?[40]

CV adopts a line almost similar to that of DK. In addition to giving the prose-order with explanation of words and avoiding the abundance of quotations, he helps aesthetic appreciation by pointing out the common qualities (*Sāmānya-dharma*) involved in the comparisons in the verse. The black complexion and slenderness of the Priyaṅgu-creeper likens it to the body of the heroine ; the tremulous nature of the deer's eyes resemble her eyes ; the beauty and pleasing nature of the moon are reminiscent of her face ; the rich peacock feathers with blue colour resemble her hair ; and the curvature and length of thin waves are reminiscent of her side-glances.[41]

PS begins his commentary on the verse preparing sufficient background with a fairly long introduction. Whereas ML and DK introduce the verse on the basis of the rules of erotics, PS does the same with reference to the condition of hero's heart. His heart is full of the anguish of separation and is anxious to have just a sight of his beloved which is denied to him by the curse. Thus it consoles itself by looking at those objects in nature having some resemblance to the heroine's body, eyes, etc. After giving such an introduction, PS explains the propriety and suggestive power of every expression in the verse. The plural number in '*śyāmāsu*' suggests that they are of many varieties depending on place, time, etc. So it is with great effort that the hero observes the fair complexion of his beloved in one creeper, her beauty in another one, her tenderness in yet another variety, etc. The expression '*Cakitahariṇīprekṣaṇe*' is also notable. It is not just any deer ; but a doe in a frightened state. The doe is horrified by the roar of a lion or some such other cause. Since such a situation comes only occasionally, the sight of such a doe is also very rare and hence the extreme difficulty he has to face in finding it ! The word '*Śaśini*' (in one who bears a hare ; i.e. in the moon) denotes the full moon which appears only once in a month. The plural number in '*Śikhinām*' suggests that the peacock-feathers in their fully expanded form can be seen only very rarely even in the rainy season because of their fear of hunters who follow them frequently. The poet uses '*Keśān*' and not '*Keśabhāram*'. The suggested idea is that the peacock-feather reminds him of his beloved's hair hanging loose, and not the braided and ornamented coiffure. The attribute '*pratanuṣu*' given to '*nadīvīciṣu*' implies rarity of occurrence also since the thinness of the wave is due to the disturbance caused by soft wind, a bird or a fish. The address 'caṇḍi' in PS's opinion, suggests the hero's fancy that the heroine herself has put the beauty of the different parts of her body in separate objects because she cannot bear the sight of a single object bearing full likeness to her. Even the hero's seeing the likeness of her limbs in separate objects could not be excused by her because of her jealous love for him.[42] A commentary like this filled with the rich notes of aesthetic appreciation is in fact rare in the whole range of Sanskrit criticism.

---

[37] *Pañcikā*, p. 37.

[38] *Sañjīvanī*, p. 116.

[39] It is to be noticed that ML draws many ideas directly from DK. He has already acknowledged this indebtedness to DK in one of his introductory verses to his commentaries :

"तथापि दक्षिणावर्तनाथाद्यैः क्षुण्णवर्त्मसु ।
वयं च कालिदासोक्तिष्ववकाशं लभेमहि ॥"

For details on this, vide N.V.P. Unithiri, "Dakṣiṇāvarta's commentary on Meghasandeśa", *Journal of Oriental Research Institute and Manuscripts Library*, Trivandrum, Vol. XX, Part I.

[40] *Pradīpa*, p. 64.

[41] *Cāritravardhiṇī*, pp. 116-7.

Here PS easily surpasses all others in bringing out all the hidden meanings in the verse. He elevates our minds to a higher level of appreciation. ML, on the contrary, only gives the prose-order and word-meanings and mentions the suggested meaning in a general way. His stress is more on the grammatical and lexical aspects than on appreciation. Contrasted with the method of PS, the monotonous and scholastic way of his presentation becomes glaring. But his position may be justified on the ground that his commentaries are intended for the beginners who have to learn grammar and develop the vocabulary through the study of poems. PS's commentaries are, on the other hand, intended to appeal only to the advanced student. Preparatory to the study of the commentaries of PS, we may recommend the study of those of ML. It can also be seen from a comparison of the four examples shown above that the commentaries of DK and CV are but mediocre.

---

[42] *Vid.* pp. 153-155.

PS describes the purposes of *Sandeśakāvyas* with special reference to *MD*. Of course, ML begins his commentary on *Raghuvaṃśa* with a statement that the prohibition on indulging in poetry as something to be avoided applies only to bad poetry and he quotes the famous verse of Mammaṭa in support of this[43], and this is applicable to his commentary on *MD*. Unlike him, PS points out the purpose of *Sandeśakāvya* which, being of lyrical nature, and with no story conveying a moral, is generally considered to be devoid of any practical value. He observes that *Sandeśakāvyas* have several purposes such as, learning without tears words and their meanings, knowing the customs and manners of different peoples, removing of sins by extolling pilgrim centres and temples ; attaining great fame ; earning wealth from kings and others ; acquiring knowledge of erotic sentiment in its two phases of union and separation ; knowing the duties of a chaste woman ; gaining honour as a refined critic in learned assemblies ; experiencing the enjoyment of the poetic sentiment surpassing the supreme Bliss, etc. Then he points out the moral of *MD* in particular. Even the great Yakṣa failed in discharging his duty because of his addiction to sensual pleasures. At this, his master became angry and cursed him. Thus he lost his rank and greatness. Consequently he had to experience a lot of difficulties due to separation from his beloved. By stating all this, the poet gives us the advice that addiction to sensual pleasures causes various kinds of calamities.[44] Elaborate discussion of the purposes served by poetry as an art, as seen above, is something not attempted by ML and DK. Parameśvara, the author of *Sumanoramaṇī*, who severely criticises PS without mentioning his name, however, is with him here, though he does not enumerate all the values of *Sandeśakāvyas* in detail as PS does. Introducing the first verse, Parameśvara points out the purpose of *MD* as follows :

" अत्र खलु कविरतिसक्तिं कामिनामत्यन्तहेयां प्रतिपादयितुं देवस्यापि कस्यचित् अतिसक्त्या विरहासहस्य बुद्धिभ्रंशात् दयितां प्रत्यचेतनं मेघं दूतीकर्तुं प्रयासाः प्रादुरासन्निति संघातसंज्ञेन प्रबन्धेन प्रतिपादयन् पीठिकामारचयति... "[45]

---

[43] " इह खलु सकलकविशिरोमणिः कालिदासः ' काव्यं यशसेऽर्थकृते व्यवहारविदे शिवेतरक्षतये। सद्यः परनिर्वृतये कान्तासम्मिततयोपदेशयुजे ॥ ' इत्याद्यालङ्कारिकवचनप्रामाण्यात् काव्यस्यानेकश्रेयःसाधनतां ' काव्यालापांश्च वर्जयेत् ' इत्यस्य निषेधशास्त्रस्यासत्काव्यविषयतां च पश्यन् रघुवंशाख्यं महाकाव्यं चिकीर्षुः...... "
(*Raghuvaṃśa* with *Sañjīvanī*, Motilal Banarasidass, Delhi, p. 2.

[44] *Vid*. pp. 6-7.

[45] *Sumanoramaṇī*, p. 1.

It is to be specially noted that these two commentators consider *MD* as having an ethical value of its own while famous commentators like ML remain silent about it. It should also be borne in mind that as shown previously ML begins the commentary on other Kāvyas pointing out the purpose of poetry and its effects upon the readers.

Kālidāsa does not state in his poem what exactly was the offence committed by his hero, the Yakṣa, to incur the curse of Kubera. Among the commentators on *MD*, only CV describes the legend about this. According to him, the Yakṣa was asked by Kubera to look after the Mānasa lake. Possessed with passion for his beloved, he mistakenly thought the whole night was over, when, in fact, only just two-thirds of the night had been over, and went home. Exactly at that time the elephants guarding the eight quarters came to the lake and caused much damage, and, on hearing this Kubera became enraged and cursed his servant to live in exile for one year.[46] Although this story is not given by PS anywhere in his commentary, there are ample indications that he was aware of a legend similar to this. Explaining the expressions '*kāntāvirahaguruṇā*' and '*svādhikārapramattaḥ*', he points out that the Yakṣa's carelessness was due to his excessive sensual attachment and that the poet did not describe the particular incident just because it has little to do with the *Rasa* in the poem. He writes :

" अनेनैव कान्तातिसक्तिमूलत्वमपि प्रमादस्यावगम्यते, अन्यथा तद्विरहविषयस्यानुपपत्तेः शापस्य। स्वाधिकारप्रमत्तः स्वेन आत्मना अङ्गीकृते अधिकारे कार्यधुरायां निधिपालनादौ। अत्रापि विशेषानभिधान पूर्ववद्रसानुपयोगात्। " 47

It may be pointed out that just a passing reference like this is much more effective than a detailed description. Vallabha also just mentions this :

" स्वाधिकारप्रमत्तो निजव्यापारावलिप्तः स हि जायायां व्यसनित्वात् स्वमधिकारमनपेक्षमाणः। " 48

But sometimes it seems that PS does not mention the legends or allusions which may enhance poetic appreciation, presumably because he is not aware of them. Such an instance is the allusion to Nicula and Diṅnāga, considered by some as contemporaries of the poet, in the half-verse,

" स्थानादस्मात्सरसनिचुलादुत्पतोदङ्मुखः खं
दिङ्नागानां पथि परिहरन् स्थूलहस्तावलेपान्। " (*MD*, I. 14)

Commenting on these lines DK describes the apocryphal story current in his time. According to it, the expression '*Sarasanicula*' refers to Nicula, a favourable critic of Kālidāsa, in addition to its contextual meaning i.e., a place full of juicy Vānīra shrubs. Likewise, the expression '*diṅnāgānām*' apart from its contextual meaning of the mythological elephants of the eight quarters, refers to Diṅnāgācārya who used to criticise harshly Kālidāsa's works in the assembly of scholars.[49] ML also makes reference to this allusion, following DK.[50] Vallabha and PS are not aware of this tradition and so they explain these lines without mentioning any reference to it. So also the commentators like CV and Parameśvara. But as Dr. S. V. Iyer observes, "without such a covert reference the verse would lose much of its force, particularly when we remember that there is considerable difficulty in explaining how the elephants guarding the quarters come in the way of the cloud".[51]

---

[46] *Cāritravardhinī*, p. 2.

[47] *Vid.* p. 3.

[48] *Pañcikā*, p. 1.

There is a controversy among commentators regarding the problem whether Kālidāsa wrote *MD*, modelled on the *Hanūmatsandeśa* of *Rāmāyaṇa* or not. DK presents this view in his introduction to the very first verse :

> " इह खलु कविः सीतां प्रति हनूमता हारितं सन्देशं हृदयेन समुद्वहन् तत्स्थानीयनायकाद्युत्पादनेन सन्देशं करोति ।" 52

ML also subscribes to this view :

> " सीतां प्रति रामस्य हनूमत्सदेशं मनसि निधाय मेघसन्देशं कविः कृतवानित्याहुः ।" 53

It seems that there was a popular view that in the story of Yakṣa there is a *Samādhi* of the story of Sītā and Rāghava. This is refuted by PS in his commentary on the verse, *MD*, I.1. According to PS, there is no purpose to be served by such a *Samādhi*. Moreover, the poet himself says '*Janakatanayāsnāna*' '*raghupatipadaiḥ*', etc. as though Rāma and Sītā are not connected with the present story. That in a later verse he explicitly compares the messenger and the heroine with Hanūmat and Sītā, also shows that no such *Samādhi* is intended by him; for *Upamāna* should by nature be a thing different from *Upameya*. PS puts this as follows :

---

[49] " सरसनिचुलात्–आर्द्रवानीरवतः । सरसनिचुलादित्यत्र निचुलापदेन निचुलाभिधानः कश्चन कविर्विवक्षितः । यस्य सूक्तिः सुभाषिते श्रूयते—

संसर्गजा दोषगुणा भवन्तीत्येतन्मृषा येन जलाश्रयोऽपि ।
स्थित्वानुकूलं निचुलाश्चलन्तमात्मानमारक्षति सिन्धुवेगात् ॥

इति । अनया निचुलोपवर्णनया तस्य कवेर्निचुलाभिधानत्वमासीदित्यनुसन्धेयम् । स तु निचुलकविरास्थानगतः कालिदासस्य सूक्तीः संभावयति । तस्मात्सरसपदेन तं कविं स्तौति । खमुत्पत । अनेन स्वकाव्यस्योच्छ्रितस्थानविजृम्भणं च विवक्षितम् । अयमभिप्रायः—किमन्यैरसूयुभिः, आस्थानगतो रसिकः स निचुल एव तवोच्छ्रायं करोतीति दुर्जनभीषणभीतं मेघसन्देशाभिधानं स्वप्रबन्धं मेघच्छद्मना समाश्वासयति । तव काव्यं के नाम दूषयन्तीत्यपेक्षां हृदि कृत्वाह–दिङ्नागानां दिग्गजानाम् । अनेन दिङ्नागाचार्यश्च विवक्षितः । पथि अनेन विजृम्भणावकाश उत्पतनमार्गश्च विवक्षितः । परिहरन् वर्जयन् । स्थूलहस्तावलेपान् । उत्पतन्तं मेघमालोक्य सजातीयभ्रमेण स्थूलहस्तावताडनानि सम्भावितानि । अनेन प्रबन्धदूषणसमये स्थूलहस्ताभिनयाश्च विवक्षिताः । अयसभिप्रायः—दिङ्नाग इति कोऽप्याचार्यः कालिदासप्रबन्धान् 'अन्यत्रोक्तोऽयमर्थः' इति स्थूलहस्ताभिनयैर्दूषयति । तमाचार्यं स्वप्रबन्धस्यापूर्वार्थाभिधायित्वमाश्रित्य मेघोपदेशव्याजेन कविरुपालभत इति ।" (*Pradipa*, p. 13).

[50] *Sañjīvanī*, p. 19.

[51] *Op. cit.*, p. 64.

[52] *Pradīpa*, p. 1.

[53] *Sañjīvanī*, p. 2.

> "कवेर्यक्षवृत्तान्ते सीताराघववृत्तान्तसमाधिरस्तीति केचित्, तन्न सहृदयहृदयसंवादाय, प्रयोजनाभावात्, कविनैव जनकतनयास्नान इति, रघुपतिपदैरिति चात्यन्ततटस्थतया प्रतिपादितत्वात्, उपरि च इत्याख्याते पवनतनयं मैथिलीवोन्मुखी सा इत्यत्र उपमानतया प्रतिपादयिष्यमाणत्वात्, उपमेयस्यार्थस्यार्थभेदः कण्ठोक्त इति ।" 54

Whatever may be the technical objection, the observation made by ML and DK is sound and it is quite likely that Kālidāsa was influenced by the idea of the *Hanūmatsandeśa* in the *Rāmāyaṇa*.[55]

In this connection mention may be made of the criticism by Ṛṣiputra Parameśvara against some views in *Vid*.[56] Though Parameśvara tries to make his arguments and explanations scientific, his attacks on PS's views are often baseless. Moreover Parameśvara seems to be tired of criticising PS as his commentary progresses. The major portion of his criticism is confined to the commentary on the first verse. As a matter of fact Parameśvara follows PS in many places. Both these accept only 110 verses.[57] In regard to the readings also these commentators agree in most cases.

The commentary of DK also, as suggested before, shows resemblance to that of PS in some places in addition to the fact that both of them accept the same number of 110 verses and in many places their readings are the same.[59]

---

54 *Vid.* p. 7.

55 Also see R. V. Krishnamachariar, Introduction to *Vid.* pp. 2-3.

56 Vide *Sumanoramaṇī*, Appendix III (References to *Vid.* in *Sumanoramaṇī*), pp. 99-103.

57 *Ibid.*, Appendix V (Concordance of the verses in *MD*). There are two errors in printing. The verse "*tatra vyaktam*" etc. is the 55th in Parameśvara and PS concorded with DK; it is printed there as 59th. Similarly, the verse "*dīrghīkurvan*" etc. is 31st in Parameśvara and PS concorded with DK. It is printed as 33rd in the list.

58 For details, vide, N.V.P. Unithiri, "Dakṣiṇāvartanātha, Commentator on Kālidāsa's poems : His provenance", *Vishweshwaranand Indological Journal*, Vol. XIV, Part II, pp. 218-221.

59 *Ibid.* Also see pp. 20, 21, 22, 32, 35, 58, 59, etc. in *Pradīpa* and pp. 39, 41, 42, 65, 69, 141, 142 etc. in *Vid.*

That these three commentators beloag to Kerala[60] may account for such similarity.

From the foregoing discussion, it is evident that *MD* has been analysed, studied, and above all, well appreciated by the different commentators of ancient India and, at least in the matter of appreciation, PS stands foremost among them.

---

[60] There is no controversy on the point that PS and Parameśvara are Keralites. In the matter of DK, the present writer has advanced such a view. For details, see the article in f.n. 52.

ABHINAVAGUPTA ON THE SANDHYAṄGAS IN THE ŚĀKUNTALAM

By

S. G. MOGHE*

Dr. T. G. Mainkar has already pointed out in his 'Kālidāsa—His Art and Thought',[1] that Rāghavabhaṭṭa has located very skillfully 56 *Sandhyaṅgas* from the *Śākuntalam*. Some of the *Sandhyaṅgas* unnoticed by Rāghavabhaṭṭa are also located by the present author elsewhere[2]. Dr. Mainkar has also dealt with the theory of the *Sandhis* and *Sandhyaṅgas* exhaustively in his doctoral thesis.

In the light of this background, an attempt is made here to show that Abhinavagupta who has located only two *Sandhaṅgas* known as *Parisarpa* and *Vidhūta-aṅgas* of the *Pratimukha-sandhi*, is how far valid in comparlson with the commentary *Arthadyotanikā* of Rāghavabhaṭṭa and other writers on Alaṁkāra Śāstra like Viśvanātha and science of dramaturgy like Dhanañjaya and others.

I. In the first place, it deserves to be noted that both Abhinavagupta and Rāghavabhaṭṭa have located the above mentioned two *Sandhyaṅgas* at two different places and thereby shown their independance of mind in appreciating the drama *Śākuntalam*.

II. It may be noted here in passing that *Avasthās* and *Arthaprakṛtis* are vitally connected with the five *Sandhis*, according to the author of the *Daśarūpaka* and noted by Dr. Mainkar in his doctoral thesis.[3] The *Sandhyaṅgas* such as *Upakṣepa*, *Parikara*, *Parinyāsa* and *Samādhāna* constitute the *Bīja*, the first *Arthaprakṛti*. While *Yukti*, *Prāpti*, *Udbheda* and *Karaṇa*, constitute the *Āraṁbha*, the first *Avasthā*. *Bīja* and *Āraṁbha* combine to form the *Mukha Sandhi*. *Bindu* and *Prayatna* combine to form the *Pratimukha-sandhi*. In the *Āraṁbha Avasthā*, there is just the beginning of curiosity for getting the fruit. In the *Prayatna*, however, one undertakes quick efforts to get the fruit as it is not acquired.

Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. 34, Nos. 3-4 March-June 1985 issue, pp. 155 to 159.

* Govt. Arts and Science College, Aurangabad, (Maharashtra).

[1] *Kālidāsa—His Art and Thought*, Deshmukh Prakashan, Poona, 1962, Pp. 186-187.

[2] Moghe, S. G., A Comparative Study of the Sandhyaṅgas in the commentaries on Śākuntalām. J. U. Bombay, Vol. XLII, No. 78, Pp. 53-45, 1973.

[3] Mainkar, T. G., *The Theory of Sandhis and Sandhyaṅgas*—Pp. 13-14. (Poona edition, 1960).

III. If one turns to the *Sāhityadarpaṇa*, one notices that Viśvanātha has followed, in fact, copied verbatim[4] the commentary *Abhinavabhāratī* on the *Nāṭya-Śāstra* on these two places of the *Sandhyaṅgas*. Rāghavabhaṭṭa, however, does not seem to have consulted the *Abhinavabhāratī* for the present purpose.

IV. Dr. Mainkar gives us several definitions of *Parisarpa*[5] and explains it as 'going in search of something.' Actually this explanation offered by the learned doctor appears inadequate only if one consults the comments of other writers. Following these comments the *Sandhyaṅga Parisarpa* can be explained as 'going about in search of something which is most desired and which has gone out of the sight'. It is significant to note here that the expression '*dṛṣṭa*' is here explained as '*abhīṣṭa*' i.e. most desired and *naṣṭasya* as *adṛṣṭasya* and *anusaraṇam* as *anveṣaṇam*.

V. Abhinavagupta[6] has located this *Sandhyaṅga* known as *Parisarpa*—the aṅga of the *Pratimukha-sandhi*—in the third act of the *Śākuntalam* when Duṣyanta infers the presence of Śakuntalā on the bank of the river Mālinī, particularly at the sight of Śakuntalā's foot-prints on the sand. Rāghavabhaṭṭa however, locates this *Sandhyaṅga*[7] known as *Parisarpa* when Duṣyanta remarks that he will go in search of Śakuntalā and makes his inference in this respect. From the two illustrations of the same *Sandhyaṅga Parisara*, it would be quite clear to the cautious readers that Rāghavabhaṭṭa is not far away from the truth if one remembers the point that Duṣyanta is in search of Śakuntalā and infers her presence on the bank of the river Mālinī. However, one has to note the minute difference between Abhinavagupta and Rāghavabhaṭṭa in locating the above *Sandhyaṅga*.

VI. It would be proper to consider some observations of Dr. Mainkar in respect of the *Sandhyaṅga Parisarpa*. He remarks[8] that '*Parisarpa* would be only possible the *Bīja* has temporarily been lost sight of on account of the underplot as in the case of the *Mṛcchakaṭikam* Act II etc. and it does not appear that *Parisarpa* ean figure in every kind of play.' Here it may be pointed out that in the *Pratimukha-sandhi*, there is *dṛṣṭa-naṣṭatva* of the *Bīja* and *Parisarpa* gives the search. It should be remembered here that according to Rāghavabhaṭṭa, the

---

[4] *Sāhityadarpaṇa*, p. 367 (Kashi Sanskrit Series, No. 145), 1955.

[5] *The Theory of Sandhis and Sandhyaṅgas*, p. 55. Also दृष्टनष्टानुसरणं परिसर्पस्तु वर्ण्यते । NS XIX. 76.

[6] भवितव्यमत्र तया । तथाहि — अभ्युन्नता पुरस्तात् ' इति ।
अभिनवभारती on **नाट्यशास्त्र** XIX. 76, Vol. III, p. 43 (Baroda Edition).

[7] सावदेनामन्विष्यामि । (सूर्यमवलोक्य) इमामुग्रातपवेलां प्रायेण लतावलयवत्सु मालिनीतीरेषु ससखीजना शकुन्तला गमयति । तत्रैव तावद् गच्छामि । अर्थद्योतनिका p. 87.

[8] Mainkar, T. G., *The Theory of Sandhis and Sandhyaṅgas*, p. 56.

Pratimukha-sandhi extends from the IInd Act to the end of the Act III of the *Śākuntalam*. The whole of the IInd act of the *Śākuntalam* bears testimony to the fact that Duṣyanta has his mind dominated by the personality of Śakuntalā and in the third act he appears to be in search of Śakuntalā, who was physically absent before him in the IInd act of the *Śakuntalam*. Here for the heroine, the description *dṛṣṭanaṣṭatva* becomes fittingly applicable. Besides, it is also not necessary to imagine the presence of any sub-plot or under plot as suggested by Dr. Mainkar, in the present case of *Śākuntala*. Actually, the second act of the *Śākuntalam* is enough to serve the purpose of the dramatist that Śakuntalā—the *Bīja*—was once *dṛṣta* and now *naṣṭa* i.e. lost sight of Duṣyanta for some time. The expression '*anusaraṇam*' in the sense of 'going in search of' becomes fittingly applicablle to the case of Śakuntalā in whose search Duṣyanta goes. Here one is inclined to express the view that Dr. Mainkar has not considered the bove position and the explanation of Abhinavagupta when he wrote the doctoral hesis, possibly because it was not published then.

VII. Another *Sandhyaṅga* known as *Vidhūta*[9] is defined and explained by Dr. Mainkar as 'spurring off or rejection'. Here also he has not considered he explanation of the word *ādau* in the definition of the *Nāṭyaṣāstra* as offered by Abhinavagupta. Following this explanation[10] of Abhinavagupta, the *Sandhyaṅga Vidhūta* arises when at first the concerned party rejects the request of another party and then later on accepts the same. One is here tempted to observe that the explanation of the word *adau* in the definition of *Vidhūta* is either completely gnored by the later writers on dramaturgy or they have followed the lead taken y the author of the *Daśarūpaka*.

VIII. Now it is necessary to consider the validity of the illustrations of *Vidhūta* given by Abhinavagupta and Rāghavabhaṭṭa. If one tries to underand the illustration[11] given by Abhinavagupta, one would notice that uṣyanta's request to Śakuntalā to accept him as her husband is turned down by akuntalā by passing her remark to the effect that what is the use of detaining is royal sage who has become very eager to meet his queens in the harem rticularly when he is separated from them for a pretty long time. After this mark of Śakuntalā, her further conduct clearly goes to prove that she has cepted the request of Duṣyanta. This is how Abhinavagupta connects the *ndhyaṅga Vidhūta* with the request made by the hero to the heroine (which is first turned down and later on accepted by the heroine). If, however, one turns to the illustration[12] located by Rāghavabhaṭṭa, one would find that he has located this *Sandhyaṅga Vidhūta* when Śakuntalā rejects the request of Anasūyā and Priyaṁvadā specially fanning her suffering from love-fever. The following points may be raised against this illustration. (1) This illustration given by Rāghavabhaṭṭa is concerned with rejection only and has nothing to do with the acceptance of the request later on. (2) It follows that the commentator Rāghavabhaṭṭa has ignored the significance of *ādau* in the definition of *Vidhūta* in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* and has adopted the position hinted at by the author of the *Daśarūpaka*. (3) The proper significance of *ādau* in the definition of *Vidhūta* can be better understood with the commentary *Ahbinavabhāratī* of Abhinavagupta. (4) The rejection of the request of friends by Śakuntalā is not more charming than the first rejection of the request of Duṣyanta and later on accepting the same by Śakuntalā. (5) The idea at the back of the *Sandhyaṅga Vidhūta* i vitally connected with the hero and the heroine according to Abhinavagupt and hence the rejection and acceptance of the request on the part of the her and heroine is more important and charming than the rejection of the reque of the friends by the heroine. In view of these newly raised points, one wou be almost tempted to endorse the remark that the illustration of *Vidhūta* giv by Abhinavagupta is more charming than that of Rāghavabhaṭṭa.

---

[9] कृतस्यानुनयस्यादौ विधूतमपरिग्रहः । NS. XIX 77; Also *Ibid.* p. 57.

[10] आदौ प्रथमतः कृतस्यानुनयस्य सामवचसोऽनङ्गीकरणं विधूतम् ।
पश्चात्पुनरङ्गीकरणमिति आदिशब्दात् ।

अभिनवभारती on NS. XIX. 77, Vol. III, p. 43.

[11] 'अइ किं अंतेउरविरहपज्जुस्सुण्ण राएसिणा उवरुद्धेण ।' *Ibid*, p. 43.

IX. Here attention may be drawn to the *Sāhityadarpaṇa* of Viśvanāth who follows Abhinavagupta in this respect. In the commentary *Lakṣmī* on th *Sāhityadarpaṇa*, however, the commentator understands this illustration[14] rathe differently. He points out that the request made by Śakuntalā is simply rejecte by her friends. Needless to say that this is not intended by author of *Abhinav bhāratī*.

X. It would be equally necessary to consider other definitions of *Vidhū* given by other writers on dramaturgy. The author of the *Daśarūpaka*[15] maintains that *Vidhūta* means *arati* i.e. absence of love. The *Rasārṇavasudhākara*[1 maintains that *Vidhūta* means *arati* -absence of love which arises in the mind of a person on account of the non acquisition of the desired objects. Evidently this is not applicable to the case of the *Śākuntalam*. Bahurūpamiśra in his *Dīpikā*[17] on the *Daśarūpaka* explains that *Vidhūta* means the absence of love on the part of the hero or heroine on account of not taking place their union which is most desired. Obviously this explanation does not suit in the context of the *Śākuntalam*. The author of the *Pratāparudrīya*[18] explains that *Vidhūta* is *anīcchā* i.e. absence of love. This also is not acceptable in the context of the *Śākuntalam* The author of the *Nāṭakalakṣaṇa-Ratna-Koṣa*[19] accepts the word *ādau* in the definition but does not explain it properly with illustration. This discussion would lead us to the irresistible conclusion that all these explanations of *arati* though good in their own way, are completely inapplicable to the case of Śakuntalā or Duṣyanta.

---

[12] किं वीजयतो मां सख्यौ। ... अनेन विधूतं नामाङ्गमुपक्षिप्तम्।
अर्थद्योतनिका p. 89 (Nirṇayasāgara edition 1947)

[13] *Sāhitya-darpaṇa*, p. 367.

[14] अत्र शकुन्तलया प्रथमं चेतसि विहितस्यानुनस्याधुना सखिभिः कारयितुमनंगीकारात विधूतम
Ibid., p. 36

[15] विधूतं स्यादरतिः। **दशरूपक** p. 30 (Adyar edition, 1969).

[16] नायकादेरीप्सितानामर्थानामनवाप्तितः।
अरतिर्या भवेत् तद्धि विद्वद्भिर्विधुतं मतम्॥
रसार्णवसुधाकर III. 44, p. 322, (Adyar edition, 1979)

From the fore-going discussion, it is quite evident that the explanations and illustrations of *Parisarpa* and *Vidhūta* given by Abhinavagupta in his *Abhinavabhāratī* are more charming and acceptable than those of Rāghavabhaṭṭa. One has also to endorse the view that the explanations of *Vidhūta* given by the above-mentioned writers on dramaturgy are completely unsuitable in the context of the *Śākuntalam* and the view point and explanation of Dr. Mainkar deserve evision.

---

[17] अभिमतसमागमाप्राप्त्या नायिकानायकयोरतिविधूतमिति ।
दीपिका on दशरूपक, p. 19 (Edition of Amaranath Pandeya, 1979).

[18] प्रतापरुद्रीय p. 106 (Raghavan's edition, 1970).

[19] नाटकलक्षणरत्नकोष p. 28 (Dillon's edition, Oxford, 1937).

INDEX INDO-ASIATICUS

POST BOX 11215, CALCUTTA-700 014

Index Indo-Asiaticus : An international based indexing quarterly. Surve 600 current periodical literature on topics relating to the culture of India an ancient Asia, in all languages [Asian and non-Asian]; & also cumulative indexe to indological journals, to manuscripts & portraits. 1968, Rs. 50 p.a.

Distributors

For subscription write to:
Central News Agency, (P) Ltd., 23/90 Connaught Circus, New Delhi
Firma K. L. M. (P) Ltd., 257-B; B. B. Ganguly St., Calcutta 12
International Book House Pvt. Ltd., Indian Mercantile Mansion-ext
Madame Cama Road, Bombay

Some Opinions

It will be very helpful to individuals and small libraries ...& to large stitutions.

—Journal of Asian Studies—ann arbor 196

A very useful piece of work. Index Indo-Asiaticus is of great help to thos who study India, as well as those who study history and culture of other Asiati states. —Prof. Dr. V. V. Balabushevich, USSR Academy of Sciences, Moscow

Informative index Indo-asiaticus—Dr. J. Rahder, Professor Emeritus, U.S.A

A very useful compilation of periodical literature on topics relating to t culture of India and ancient Asia.... I am sure the scholars will find the who scheme attractive. —Dr. Sunitikumar Chatterji, National Professor of Ind in Humanities & Emeritus Professor of Calcutta University.

Your work..will undoubtedly be useful. —Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, Forme ly President of the Republic of India.

Each one is stranger than the last, edited by the well-known Calcu Librarian. —Dr. M. L. P. Patterson in Library Quarterly (Chicago), 1971.

Request

Authors & Publishers Are Requested To Send Their Publications F Inclusion In The Index. This Will Advance The Cause Of Research Promote Sale Of Learned Journals. S. Chaudhari, Editor, Post Box 112 Calcutta-700 014

NAṬARĀJA (KING OF DANCE), VIṢṆU AND THE GODS

(A Case Study in Hindu Symbolism)

By

PURUSHOTTAMA BILIMORIA [†]

1. *Naṭarāja : The Lord of Dance :*

Naṭarāja, the 'Lord of dance', is one of the most profound and remarkable symbols in the Hindu pantheon (Fig. 1: see on the title page). This symbolism is at once a magnificent piece of aesthetic creation and a language of 'revelation', embodying a deep meaning that appears to surpass verbal formulation.

This paper explores the symbolism and attempts to relate to the more abstruse metaphysic which this, as other motifs, aims at conveying beyond the level of conceptualisation to the common folk.

2. *The Three and the One :*

The question always arises : how it is possible to communicate the highest of metaphysical truths to one who has not had the realisation or direct intuition of the truth itself ? Hindus, like other devoted people, resorted to symbols and to the arts to express the 'ineffable visions', born of realisations. They exploited the creative medium of symbolism to convey the higher truths. The *ṛṣis* or the seers observed silence and occasionally burst out into symbolic language of tremendous evocative and significative power, and created dimensions appropriate for conveying what they had glimpsed in moments of deep contemplation.

In this way India witnessed the emergence of a profusion of iconographies. paintings, carvings, murals, temples, shrines, images, literature, myths, and an incredible array of inspired artifacts, architectural and geometric symbols such as the *maṇḍala*, and others. Each of these in its own way depicts an epic tale or a myth. And myths, in the words of Heinrich Zimmer, "are meant to convey wisdom of the philosophers and to exhibit in a popular, pictorial form the experience of results of yoga"[1]—the art of 'union making'. They appeal directly to

---

Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. 34, Nos. 1-2, March-June 1985 issue, pp. 161-171.

[†] Dept. of Philosophy, School of Humanities, Deakin University, Waurn Ponds, Victoria-3217, Australia.

[1] Heinrich Zimmer, *Myths and Symbols in Indian Art and Civilization*, Bollingen Series VI, Pantheon Books, 1963 N. Y. pp. 39-40.

OJ5

intuition and imagination, and by an eloquence of incident than of words, they serve the function of popular vehicles of the esoteric wisdom.

In the Hindu folk-tradition one popular myth is that of the '*trimūrti*' or 'tri-deity', which has it that in the beginning, just a little before creation, ther were only three gods, or rather three forms of the same God. Each 'god' wa delegated to carry out specific tasks in the making and running of the cosmo Thus Brahmā, like the Platonic demiurge, was responsible for the construction— or 'creation'—of the world according to a plan discharged to him. Viṣṇu, th second god in the tri-deity, was responsible for maintaining and sustaining orde in the cosmos. He is comparable to the benevolent, wish-fulfilling God of th Semitic tradition. Then there is Śiva, the god of dissolution, who withdraws th energies, life and 'stuff' of the world periodically in order to pave the way for 'creation' afresh. These functions apply to the individual life as much as th do to the cosmic processes : the microcosm is a replica of the macrocosm.

Now, once the world has been created, the role of Brahmā is almost e hausted, and he does not seem to play a significant part in the daily life of th Hindu. Brahmā's 'consort' or 'better-half', however, who is known as the Goddess Sarasvatī, the Mother of knowledge and learning, continues to play an important role in Hindu worship. Like Brahmā, she too holds a sacred boo and a beaded *mālā* or rosary in each hand; but she also holds a *vīṇā*-a melodiou soft lute from which came the *sitāra*–which represents the sweetness of sound and the succour of music; and a crystal, which represents purity of vision.

3. *Viṣṇu :*

Viṣṇu is the second, but rather more powerful and popular god than Brahmā. Viṣṇu is depicted in a number of forms and aspects, and there are many tales about Viṣṇu and his achievements, the more attractive of whic depict him as the cosmic-man, the Godman or Nārāyaṇa, who, according to the myt is there even before the *trimūrti* division evolves. This aspect is captured in th symbolism Śeṣa-Nārāyaṇa or the Cosmic-Person-on-the-serpent (Fig. 2; see o the last cover page). A life size cast of Nārāyaṇa-on-Śeṣa gloriously ordai the shrine of the very temple where we also find a golden cast of Naṭarāja— dancing form of the third god of the *trimūrti*, in South India, some miles fr Madras, in a temple in Chidambaram. At the centre of the temple-hall, faci north-west, there are two entrances, one facing south, and the other east. Insid the main attractions are the two respective abodes of the '*Rājās*' or Sovereig gods.

Each holds his court on a stage or *raṅga*. The one facing east is Govi rāja or Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa seen here as the Sovereign-god of the universe. He depicted as the Great Lord of the universe, who at once is the creative or orig ative and sustaining principle of the universe. He even creates out of his o being the god of creation, namely Brahmā. Govindarāja is seen reclining majestically on the *Śeṣa* or serpent in a self-reposed charm of his own, drawn inwardly, seeming to care little else. He represents one of the highest conceivable forms of perfection, peace, wisdom, benign compassion, and a calm detachment. The world partakes only minute fractions of these forms, whose purity becomes sullied in the dark shadows of the lower worlds.

The mighty god is pictured as reclining majestically on the coiled serpent in a calm and solitary repose, floating on an ocean of pure milk. The serpent has nine heads issuing streams of fire which represent the primordial 'stuff' of creation. The 'Great Being' self-contained, all-containing, sleeps, dreaming away endlessly, and out of his navel on a long straight stem rises an open lotus-flower. On the petals of the lotus is seated in deep contemplation a god with four heads : this is Brahmā, 'the first-born' who is the architect and surveyor of the universe. He is responsible for engineering into action the archetypes that arise in Viṣṇu's mind. Brahmā represents the *rajas guṇa* or quality of activity, of fiery energy and emanation. Though it is really Viṣṇu who unfurls the phenomenal world out of his own being through Brahmā. The sacred book that Brahmā holds symbolises the Vedas, the timeless knowledge that he inherits at the beginning of each creative period. He remains the custodian, the greatest *yogi* in realisation of this knowledge of essentials, which the *ṛṣis* or 'seers', later 'hear' and pass on to the next generation, through oral transmission. Only uch later, in history are the contents committed to writing. And the 'vehicles' which these "heard words" are committed are called the Vedas—from *vid* : know. Being heard they are also called śruti, and they are believed to be meless and true for all time. The Upaniṣads are the end portion of the Vedas. hough the *Bhagavadgītā* is not part of the Vedas, it too is sometimes extolled as śruti in view of its profundity. But while the *Bhagavadgītā,* strictly a smṛti terature, has an author, the Vedas, being śruti, are said to be authorless *apauruṣeya*).

The other item of importance Brahmā holds is a *japa-mālā,* somewhat like he rosary in Christian prayer. Brahmā uses this in his long and austere practice an archetypal *yogī.* and continually meditates by it, yearning for his own ightenment. Brahmā is as much ignorant of his own origin and self-nature as umans are. He stares at the waters below in much awe and wonders as to its igin and his own relation to the immense universe that he has helped to bring forth".

While Viṣṇu himself lies there in cold detachment, gazing into the depths infinitude. One fraction of his mind controls and supervises over the entire smos as it rolls on year in and year out. Even time and every moment is in control, is part of him. Every moment is the eternal moment, as he is the rnal maker of time while Brahmā is the keeper and measurer of time.

And space itself is an extension of the dynamic substance of Viṣṇu's all-pervasiveness within which the universe subsists. The idea of an expanding universe is nothing new to Hindu metaphysics as Viṣṇu can go on to expand his dynamic manifestation.

By the feet of Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa on the Śeṣa is another figure of immens significance in the Hindu tradition : this is Laxmī, the 'consort' of Viṣṇu. This term however does not do full justice to the form depicted here, for Laxmī is not merely the 'consort' of Viṣṇu and therefore an "other", but in effect she is the Ultimate personified in yet another form to which the universe can be related, and towards whom people can turn in time of need. This is the form of the Mother, the Being that gives birth to the energies of the universe, who tenders and with loving care guides the universe and all beings in it on a safe course : she is as a mother caring for a child.

Laxmī, as the Mother-Goddess, is the ultimate reservoir of the creative impulse and energies in pristine state. Laxmī and Viṣṇu are distinct functionaries, rather like two sides of the same coin. Viṣṇu symbolises the Sovereign reigning over his kingdom, which is an extension of his being ; while Laxmī holds in her being the power and energy, *śakti* required for the preservation, and continuous creative evolution of the manifest universe.

As Zimmer observes : "The two countenances, rigid and mask-like, regard each other with intense emotion. Gazing with a deep and everlasting rapture, they are imbued with the secret knowledge that, though seemingly two, they are fundamentally one. For the sake of the universe and its creatures, the Absolute has apparently unfolded into this duality, and out of them derive all the life polarities.. "[2], The dualism therefore is only apparently real, and serves to highlight the polarities of the ultimate reality.

This section on Nārāyaṇa and his manifestation as the trideity is best concluded with a poem composed in an attempt to encapsulate the myth along with its philosopical implications in a poetic 'version'.[3] It is called *Māyā* as it tries to get across the idea that the manifest world is in one sense an *illusion*, but in another sense a magnificent dream conjured by a mysterious 'Dreamer of dreams'.

Māyā

The petals unfold
    the truths untold
retells the memory
    Brahmā's tale :

---

[2] Zimmer, *op. cit.*, p. 137.

[3] From the author's '*Journey's Middle*' (collected poems) Victori 1980.

the flow
of One-to-Oneness.
The First-born
in the petals
the navel's depth,
' hear's for once
Viṣṇu's dream :

the ever
of nought-to-nothingness.
The Sun-eyed winks,
the petals fold
Śeṣa-Endless yawns,
the silence sinks..
The Void—
unemptied.

4. *Only One Dance*:

As one turns away from the east to face the adjacent entrance, one notices another stage occupied by another god. In the early hours of dawn as the pilgrims begin to pace towards the centre of the temple, approaching the entrances that lead to the respective shrines of the two Sovereign-gods of Cidambaram, all of a sudden an intense and rapturous beating of kettle drums and cymbals begin to ring through the long corridors of the temple flanked by myriads of gods and patron deities. Other instruments join in and soon the air gets surcharged with the loud tremor of the vibrant sounds. The sound becomes incredibly ecstatic; every beat on the drumskin resonates and echoes throughout the hall presumably finishing in the inner shrine, summoning the god and the impending arrival of the party of pilgrims on their daily retinue.

The music gets louder and faster as though a dancer had jumped on the stage and the musical ensemble was trying to keep up with his rapid movements. In a moment, from behind the pillars at a distance appear a band of musicians, clad in white from the hip down, playing their appointed instruments with great zeal and solemnity of the occasion. The music is very beautiful and intense; its vibrations ripple through the heart, and almost move the listener into a trance. One can be so taken by the rhythm that he may feel an inward impulse to throw up his arms in response and begin to move to the beat; it becomes difficult to keep the feet still. For the lovers of Black ('soul') and Latin music, this music bears some familiarity with the beats of the congo and the bongo drums. The music touches one to the heart, and moves one at the feet. But the rarefied atmosphere and the numinous sanctity of the environ compel the appropriate respect and submission of one visiting such places of pilgrimage.

The music continues to get louder, while the mind of the pilgrim, overpowered by the atmosphere, sinks into a paradoxical quietitude.

As the band approaches closer to the sanctuary of the god who is being charmed by the music, one notices a curtain of flowers veiling the centre of attraction from everyone's view. As the music builds up to a high tempo and climax, and the evocative voices of the pilgrims rise, the flower-curtain is thrown upwards unveiling the Lord of the stage in direct vision of the audience on a level below the stage. The evocations reach a deafening pitch, and the god appears almost to be dancing in response to the now intensely resonant music ! There, right in front, stands in finely sculptured gold, enshrined by a circle of oil lamps, a resplendent and majestic figure dancing in joy, lost in some unfathomable cloud of bliss in a trance-like absorption. The glitter from the surrounding flames casts a circle of light to form a scintillating aura around the god moving apace with his steps.

The tempo of the music, coupled with the enormously sensitive devotion and fervour of the hundreds of pilgrims and worshippers who focus their concentration on this one spot, create an incredibly powerful atmosphere, drawing the audience into the 'communitas'—an instantaneous powerfully meaningful collective experience—which leaves a lasting impression on one's mind. The 'feeling' comes back quite frequently at different times and places when one sees a devotee breaking into rapturous tears and falling at the feet of the image of a god or a *guru*. This overpowering experience is best described by Rudolf Otto in terms of the categories of the *numinous* -viz. *tremendum, majestas et fascinans.*[4]

---

[4] Cf. Rudolf Otto, *The Idea of the Holy*, O.U.P. 1976, London. Otto has been criticised by various scholars for casting carelessly (or parochially) religious experience from the Eastern traditions into his 'intuitive feeling' of the *numinous*, which proves itself to be rather narrow when applied to motifs in religions other than of the west. Otto de—emphasises two aspects that are predominant in the religions of the East, (a) reason and inteltectual analysis (particularly in Buddhism and some Hindu schools), and (b) the special affection for the feminine counterpart of divinity, or the Goddess. (See 'Approaching the numinous : Rudolf Otto and Tibetan tantra', by Donald S. Lopez, Jr., in *Philosophy East and West* (Honolulu), Vol. XXIX, no. 4, pp. 467-476.

It may be commented that Otto places far too much significance on the numinous qualities of " peculiar dread "—uncanny, aweful, terrible, eerie, creepy —that come, of course, naturally to one reared in a Protestant-Lutherean school, but which are virtually foreign to the votary in the East. Otto attempts to justify his application of these categories to the Hindu experience by pointing to rituals associated with Durgā and to the theophany (*viśvarūpadarśana*, chp. XI) in the

Such an experience is difficult to comprehend fully, much less explain adequately. It is aesthetically beautiful too. The eyes stay glued to the Dancing Lord, dazzling in gold and scintillating a crystal of diamond on his bare chest. Natarāja exudes what he also signifies : *ānandam* or joy *in excelsis*, which expresses itself in the dynamic rhythm of ecstatic dance. " His locks stretch about him as he whirls about with his rapid moving feet ".[5]

Perhaps something ought to be said about what more the dance symbolises, and why the archetypal *yogī* turns into a dancer. Zimmer compares dance to a form of magic wherein the dancer becomes ecstatic as a superbeing endowned with supra-normal power with the result that his personality is transformed. Much as in *yoga*, the dance leads to the experience of divinity, ' the realisation of one's own secret nature, and, finally, mergence into the divine essence. . '[6] ' To that extent, we agree with Zimmer, that dance is an act of creation and gives symbolic birth to a deep personality.

In yet another analogy Śiva, the cosmic dancer, is compared to the powers of the evolution, maintenance, and dissolution of the world, nature and its creatures. So we notice that through the symbolism of dance, a god is depicted as fulfilling all the functions and aspects of the various gods in the extended pantheon of Hinduism.[7]

Bhagavadgītā. But Otto overlooks how Kṛṣṇa is called a friend and guide by Arjuna, and is looked upon as such over much of their long association. And as for his example of Durgā, it is true that the Goddess appears in Her wrathful form as the *tremendum* and the ' awful ' but also as the ' terrible ' and *terrifying*, particularly in the icons of Kālī, Caṇḍī, Bhairavī, Cāmuṇḍī, Kāpālī, Mahākālī, and so forth. But, it does not mean that the qualities of ' terror ', *dread* and so forth, are the predominant attributes of the Goddess even in these forms. Underlying the contingent nature of the ' terrible ' and ' fearful ' is the calm, collected, unbounded compassion and sheer beauty of the Goddess in *all* her forms, whether She appears as Kālī or as Umāpārvati, as Mahākali or as Tārā (in Buddhist Tantra), Sarasvatī or Laxmī.

[5] A. K. Coomaraswamy, *The Dance of Shiva*, Munshiram Manoharlal, New Delhi, (Indian print) 1974, p. 86.

[6] Op. cit., p, 151.

[7] In *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* III. 9.1, the sage Yājñavalkya is asked by Śākalya : ' How many gods are there ? '—with a persistence that leads the sage to change his response in each of his utterances, as follow :

' Three hundred and three, and three thousand and three '.
' Thirty three '. ' Six '. ' Three '. ' Two '. ' One and a half '.
(Finally) ' One '.

Śiva here symbolises pure spirituality, and, in the eyes of some Śaivites, rivals Viṣṇu, who lacks the creative phase and cannot undo the web of nature, which, needless to say, Naṭarāja can in his wild dance. The Naṭarāja symbol is a rather complex one which does not lend itself to an easy interpretation. But the details in the form reveal many allegorical slants which the tradition has maintained for many centuries. We can only follow the bare outlines of these mythical 'tales' with regard to the details. Let us look at some of the details and explore their meanings.

It needed a pair of sharp eyes like those of Ananda Kentish Coomaraswamy[8] to discern some of the intricate details which run through the dancing figure. Coomaraswamy describes Naṭarāja as having four hands, with braided and jewelled hair, the lower lock of which whirls in the dance. I cannot do more apt description than Coomaraswamy and am forced to invoke his pen.

> "In His hair may be seen a wreathing cobra, a skull, and the mermaid figure of Gaṅgā; upon it rests the crescent moon, and it is crowned with a wreath of Cassica leaves. In His right ear He wears a man's earring, a woman's in the left; He is adorned with necklaces and armlets, a jewelled belt, anklets, bracelets, finger and toe-rings. The chief part of His dress consists of tightly fittin breeches, and He wears also a fluttering scarf and a sacred thread. One righ hand holds a drum, the other is uplifted in the sign of do not fear : . . "[9]

The dance itself adds more to the features of Śiva. The dance, in fac represents the five activities (*pañcakṛtya*),) viz : creation (*śṛṣṭi*), preservatic and support (*sthiti*), destruction and involution (*saṁhāra*), veiling. embodimen and also, giving rest (*tirobhāva*), release, salvation and grace (*anugraha* "These, separately considered", Coomaraswamy rightly observes, "are tl activities of the deities Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Rudra, Maheśvara and Sadāśiva".[10]

In the upper right hand Naṭarāja holds a *damruk*, a small two-sided drun which cones in the middle like an hour-glass, and which is used to produce rhythmic beat. But it means more than music, it connotes sound *śabda*, th vehicle of speech *vāc*, that conveys "revelation, tradition, incantation, magic

---

In other words, the sage gave a virtually countless number to the gods, fo as he goes on to explain, no matter how many, each is a manifestation of th One eternally present, Brahman. Or, as Zimmer remarks, Hindu philosoph and orthodoxy are fundamentally monistic and monotheistic (in that order *Op. cit.*, p. 135.

[8] Coomaraswamy, *op. cit.*, see also his 'Angel and Titan : An Essay Vedic Ontology', *J. American Oriental Society*, Vol. 55, Dec. 1935, pp. 373-41 And his *Hinduism and Buddhism*, Greenwood Press, Westport, Conn 1971.

[9] Coomaraswamy, *ibid.*, p. 86.

[10] *Ibid.*

and divine truth" much as do the scriptures. Sound is also associated with the subtle element ether, and sound together with ether signifies the first, truth-pregnant moment of creation, the productive energy of the Absolute, in its pristine, cosmogenetic strength.

The traditional *tāṇḍava* dance follows closely this rhythm and is based on this very conception of sound. This dance-form is being revived with great vigour and significance in India today.

In contrast, the upper left hand holds on its palm a bulb of flame. The hand itself is composed magnificently, and the fingers are held in a half moon posture (*ardhacandra-mudrā*). The flame symbolises destruction—which is necessary for a new creation to proceed. At the end of each 'dark eon', or *Kali Yuga*, a *pralaya* occurs, and the mighty furious fire is said to devour the entire universe, leaving behind void. The left hand is in a sense an answer to the right hand. Here is depicted a perfect balance between creation and destruction ; between birth and death in the play of the cosmic dance.

The other right hand makes an interesting gesture which is read as 'fear not' (*abhaya-mudrā*)—in the words of a recent living teacher who shows the same (*mudrā* or *guesture*). "Why fear when I am here !"

The corresponding left arm is held across the chest and points down below the foot which is lifted high. This foot, it is said, signifies 'release', salvation', and is the holiest spot at which the votary falls to take refuge ; and hich he worships to attain enlightenment and liberation or, which is the same ing according to Hindu understanding, 'union' with the Divine, the Ultimate.

The raised foot also signifies the removal and distance from profanity -i.e. transcendent nature, and which does not need the platform for its support. hovers above the earthly crust ensuring a transcendental plane for the votary o aspires to such a state and devotes his life's goal to the attainment of the ne.

The other foot is resting on the fallen body of a daemon who has been erpowered. This dwarf-like daemon represents the *tāmasic* or lower qualities man viz., forgetfulness, heedlessness, sloth, laziness, innate weakness, greed, tism, anxiety and the "evil" tendencies in life tempted by the 'dark forces'. arāja tramples on this daemon in his wild dance to create anew a glorious thm and harmony. The dance becomes quite frantic ; but it is a sure sign victory and spiritual advancement and freedom.

This rhythm is believed to be the heart of each man, which *yogis* try to ear', but which can only be awakened by the guidance of an authentic *guru* the grace of the Ultimate—whether dancing or reposing in stillness. Once evil is crushed and conquered by the fervour of the Divine Dance within each soul, the seeker is led to freedom, bliss and enlightened consciousness which Śiva possesses in full measure.

He further assures his seeker of the joy of the goal of wearing a crescen moon on his head. The crescent moon symbolises the consequent dawn o knowledge which is bound to increase and culminate in the fullness of and ripening of pure wisdom.

Unlike the sleeping poise of Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa, Naṭarāja, as we have observed, is moving in dynamic performance. In his dance he envelopes and embraces the entire universe. Indeed, the entire universe is an emanation of him as a result of his dance. The dance 'transforms space into time, by absorbing it into the continuity of the rhythm', He creates time and he devours time.

Time and space are seen to be moving bits of the enclosure touched by Śiva's dance. Yet he holds the whole continuum in perfect equilibrium. Th is shown by the circle of flames around him. His poise suggests a feeling of pin point balance, and when he dances he really hovers in the space of which he is the great master—light, volatile and free in his movement.

His head is one grand reservoir of energy, of psychic supper-human activity and as he dances, his hair streams out, diffusing in all directions, hot enough t light the many lamps in the circle around him creating an enshrining hal flames to illumine and glorify him. In visual terms, this is a very dynamic ture; but this also has profound philosophical meaning.

The idea is that ultimately nothing remains static and stagnant : ther an endless stream of dynamic inter-activity of birth, growth, decay and obliv that pervades the entire life, individual and cosmic. The momentariness stark emptiness of each event is its most revealing characteristic as the n flashes in the infinite gaze of the sleepless Lord of dance.

But on the other hand, his face tells of a different mood. His face reta like that of Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa, a sovereign calmness, a coolness that is not mo by any excitement of fear, anxiety or destruction : it is absolutely resolute, r attached, non-commital, quiescent, parading a disconcertingly supernal aura joy and bliss that remains ineffable in any available language. Amidst the rel less activity of creating, preserving, destroying, his face reveals that he is inwa withdrawn from the whole gamut of activities and is absorbed in a calmness unconcern of the highest sort, that surpasses all understanding. Eternity expr itself in time; stillness in motion; non-activity in activity; *nivṛtti* in *pravṛtti*, vice-versa.

This fundamental paradox of the one-ness of opposites is symbolic represented here ; the "balance of the head and immobility of the m like countenance" is none other than "the incessant, triumphant mo of swaying limbs."[11] The King of Dancers displays through wild and graceful gestures the illusoriness of the universe ; rapidly moving limbs create in process the many elements of the manifest reality in a continuous cycle of birth delicately balanced by annihilation and death, from one eon to another great *yuga*, traced by the rhythmic pounding of the dancer's heels. Thus, even Śiva transcends his own manifestation, and miraculously combines or weaves it into his own being ; the duality of opposites, the paradox of dualism is continually resolved. And in his cool and calm response Śiva coincides exactly with the equanimity of Viṣṇu. The duality is dissolved : one alone is, *like* two. So, likewise, it is said, there is only one dance. And all things, including the 330 million gods of the Hindu pantheon, are the so many 'moments' in the Eternal now. The creatures and features are the emanations—like the multifarious reflections of the one sun in a rippling pool ; the incessant beat of a majestic drum ; the many bubbles from the same source, and of the same substance. It is all One ; and the One is the All or everything. One alone is none else. The essential truth echoes ceaselessly : there is an inseparable ty of every moment in the cosmic dance ; we are part of the dance in a dream the one who appears to create, to sleep, and to dance simultaneously in a oment which is at once no-moment and all moment. Such is the depth of a mple golden dancing figurine in a South Indian temple. It insists on the adoxical identity of the person, carried to experiences and emotions, in the ence of the polarities of the static and the dynamic in the one. In this le there is both contrast and identity of the 'blissfully dreaming, silent tenance with the passionate agility of the limbs' representing the Ultimate its *Māyā* (illusory power of nature) as One-beyond duality.

It declares for those who can read the language of this symbolism, the r truth, which the philosopher attempts but fails to express and which flows ifully through the devotee-artist, who, by dint of his creative imagination, le to combine in one material and pigmentation the paradoxical nature of mysterious realities of the Ultimate. Such a 'vehicle' seems only accessible e artist and hardly to the philosopher ; the philosopher is therefore impelled at the feet of such great artists and their creations to "hear" of the higher s immortalised in the graven images they manifest. In this way the philo- r gains the 'vision' and the insight the ancient *ṛṣis* (sages) imbued the ural myths with, which were later translated and cast into solid pictures, ments, bronze and goiden figurines and 'idols' in the temples of India.*

---

1 Zimmer *op. cit* , p. 152.

* This paper is dedicated to *Biren De*, artist and friend whose inspiration leas have found their way into this paper.

OUR NEW RELEASES

	Rs.	
Discipline : The Canonical Buddhism of the Vinayapitaka—John C. Holt	50	
Encyclopedia of Indian Philosophies—Karl H. Potter		
Vol. I : Bibliography 2nd rev. edn.	250	
Vol. II : Introduction to the Philosophy of Nyaya Vaisesika	150	
Vol. III : Advaita Vedanta. Part I	175	
Fragments from Dinnaga—H. N. Randle	40	
Fullness of the Void—Rohit Mehta	85 60	(Cloth) (Paper)
Global History of Philosophy 3 Vols—John C Plott.	195	
Hindu Philosophy—Theos Bernard	50 30	(Cloth) (Paper)
History and the Doctrines of the Ajivikas—A. L. Basham	75	
History of the Dvaita School of Vedanta—B. N. K. Sharma	200	
History of Indian Literature Vol. I—M. Winternitz	100	
History of Pre-Buddhistic Indian Philosophy—B. Barua	125	
Indian Sculpture—Stella Kramrisch	60	
J. Krishnamurti and the Nameless Experience—Rohit Mehta	55 45	(Clot (Pape
Language and Society-Michael C. Shapiro and Harold F. Schiffman	130	
Life of Eknath—Justin E. Abbott.	50 35	(Clot (Pape
Madhyamaka Buddhism: A Comparative Study—Mark Macdowell	50	
Nyaya Sutras of Gotama—Tr. by Nand Lal Sinha	80	
Peacock Throne : The Drama of Mogul India—Waldemar Hansen	120	
Philosophy of Nagarjuna—K. D. Prithipaul	65	
Prapancasara Tantra—Ed. by Arthur Avalon	100 75	(Clot (Pap
Select Inscriptions. Vol. II—D. C. Sircar	200	
Serindia 5 Vols—Sir Aurel Stein	3000	
Sexual Metaphors and Animal Symbols in Indian Mythology—Wendy Doniger O'Flaherty	100	
Siksha Samuccaya : A Compendium of Buddhist Doctrine—Cecil Bendall & W.H.D. Rouse	60	
Suresvara on Yajnavalkya—Maitreyi Dialogue (Brhadaranyakopanisad 2 : 4 and 4 : 5)—Shoun Hino	125	
Tantraraja Tantra—Ed. by Arthur Avalon & Lakshaman Shastri	120 100	(Clo (Pap
Vedic Mythology, 2 Vols—Alfred Hillebrandt; tr. by Sreeramula Rajeswara Sarma	220	

For Detailed Catalogue, please write to :—

MOTILAL BANARSIDASS

Bungalow Road, Jawahar Nagar, Delhi-110007 (India)

YANTRA WORSHIP IN THE ŚĀKTA CENTRES OF GUJARAT

By

V. T. PADMAJA*

A *yantra* in its most general form indicates simply an instrument or that by which anything is controlled ($\sqrt{yam}$). In worship it is a symbol by which mind is fixed on a deity.[1] In this sense *yantra* replaces an idol. It is a linear diagram drawn or painted on paper or such suitable substances. It is also seen as engraved on metal or stone. As the deities differ, the *yantraṣ* also vary. The complete metaphysical conception and the form of the deity for whom it is meant is, therefore, represented by the *yantras* and that forms the basic form of the Tāntric worship.

A *yantra* is defined in the Tāntric literature as a figure consisting of angles.[2] When petal-like parts are included, they are known as *cakra*. The diagram consists of a number of spatial triangles drawn by arranging straight lines crossing each other so as to produce triangles. For worship the letters of the *Mantra* are inscribed in the triangles. They are known as *bījākṣaras* of the *dēvatā*.

An attempt is made here to elucidate the use of *yantras* in the *Śakta-pīṭhas* of Gujarat. The varieties of *yantras* used in Gujarat are *Śrīyantra*, *Visōyantra*, *Bālā-tripurā-yantra* and *Kālī-yantra*.

1. *Śrī-Yantra* :

Among all *yantras*, *Śrīyantra* (Fig. 1) is considered as the most important one and is widely worshipped. Component parts of this *yantra* are : (1) The *bindu* in the centre, (2) the small triangle around the *bindu* (*trikoṇa*), (3) the group of eight triangles surrounding the *trikoṇa* (*aṣṭakoṇa*), (4) the inner group of ten triangles encircling the *aṣṭakoṇa* (*antardaśāra*), (5) the outer row of ten triangles around the *antardaśāra* (*bahirdāśāra*), (6) a set of 14 triangles surrounding *bahirdaśāra* (*caturdaśāra*), (7) the lotus of eight petals is called (*aṣṭadala*) around the *caturdaśāra*, (8) the 16 petalled lotus encircling *aṣṭadala* (*ṣōḍaśadala*), (9) the three girdles around 16 petalled lotus (*mekhalā-traya* or *vṛttatraya*), and (10) the three quadrangular lines with openings on all four sides (*bhūpura*).[3] The lower portion is drawn as with four triangles in sequence one within the other bisecting the lines, the apex of which pointing up-

---

Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. 34, Nos. 3-4 March-June 1985 issue, pp. 173 to 179.

* Dept. of Archaeology and Ancient History, Faculty of Arts, M. S. University of Baroda, Baroda–390 002.

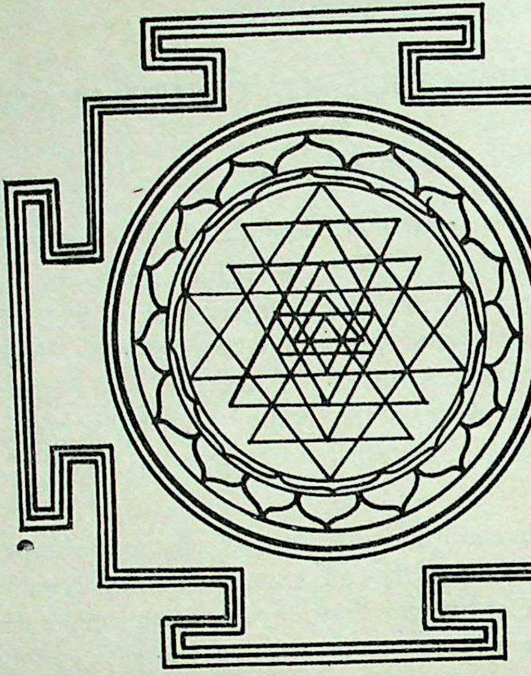


Fig. 1. Śrīyantra

wards representing, *Śiva*, while the upper five triangles are drawn with the apex pointing downwards representing *Śakti*. The innermost triangle is formed by a part of the sides of the outer triangles. The *bindu* at the centre is said to denote the cosmic creation or the manifestation of life.

The *bījākṣaras* inscribed in the *śrīyantra* are *praṇava* in the centre and in the surrounding 6 triangles "*Śrīm*" and in the outside petals *Lakṣmīmantra* and *Danada mantra* are inscribed. *Bhūpara* triangles are with the *bīia* "*Śrīm*". The *bījakṣara* "*Śrīm*" is a combination of *sa*, *ra*, and *I*.' *Sa*' means *Lakṣmi*, '*ra*' means wealth and 'I' means satisfaction. The *bindu* is the dispeller of sorrows. With this *bīja* the *devī Lakṣmī* is worshipped.[5]

The *Śrīyantra* is auspicious and is installed in the *pūjā*-rooms of the houses for obtaining the blessings for all worldly objectives. The goddess of wealth "*Śrī*" is invoked in this *mantra* for prosperity.[6]

The *Paraśurāmakalpasūtra*[7] and *Laksmidhara's* commentary on the *Saundaryalahari*[8] give a detailed description and the way of worship of this *yantra*.

This is the common *yantra* worshipped in Gujarat.

2. *Visō yantra :*

Besides *Śrīyantra*, *Visōyantra* is also worshipped at *Ambāji* (Fig. 2). The term *visō* indicates the number 20. The figure 20 is believed to be lucky, specially by the business community, for prosperity in business. Until recently weights and measures were reckoned as parts of 16 or its multiples. We had in use 16 *chittāng* for measuring weights and a rupee consisted of 16 annas. To indicate prosperity in business the symbol 1¼ is usually inscribed in the letters of transaction by the business community as a custom. Number 20 is a multiple of five quarters of 16 and number 5 equally a lucky number for business community.[9] Many items were counted with the unit of 20.

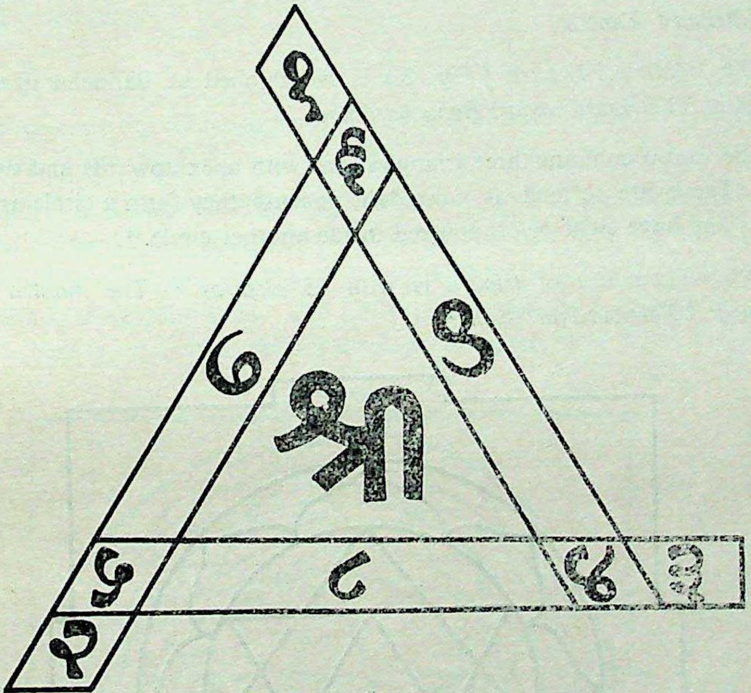


Fig. 2. Viso yantra

Visō yantra is drawn as triangles, rectangles and hexagons. Numericals from 1 to 9 are inscribed in the rectangles. The sum total of each side should work out to 20. In the middle of the *yantra* the letter " *Śrī* " is inscribed to indicate that it confers " *Śreyas* " and symbolises the goddess of wealth, *Lakṣmī*.

The numericals 1 to 9 have been explained in Nighaṇṭu by specific symbolism, for example, number 1 is said to mean *Brahmā*, number 2, *Śiva* and *Śakti*, number 3, three *guṇas* (*sattva*, *rajas*, *tamas*), number 4, *puruṣārthas* (*dharma*, *artha*, *kāma*, *mōkṣa*), number 5, *pañcamahābhūtas prithvi*, *ap*, *agni*, *vāyu*, and *ākāśa*), number 6, *ṣaṭkoṇas*, number 7, *saptasindhus*, number 8, *asṭadhāprakṛti*[10] (*pṛthvī,—ap, agni, vāyu, ākāśa, manas, buddhi, ahaṁkāra*), number 9, *navanidhi* (*mahāpadma, padma, śankha, makara, kacchapa, mukunda, kunda, nīla, kharva*). It may however be noted that other symbolisms also exist.

The *visōyantra* worshipped at Ambāji is a set of two triangles, the outer enclosing the inner one with their, three sides extending beyond on each of the three sides. The numerals on each side should add upto 20 and numerals from 1 to 9 have been used with " *Śrī* " in the exact centre. This *yantra* is covered by the decoration (*āngi*) and therefore it is not available for the devotees to perceive.

3. *Bālātripurā Yantra :*

The *Bālātripurāyantra* (Fig. 3) is worshipped at Bahucharaji where the Goddess is *Bālātripurāsundarī Bahucharāmbā*.

The *yantra* contains three triangles, one with apex upwards and two downwards. These are termed as *navayōnis*, because they form a circle around the triangles and have eight *petals* covered inside another circle.[11]

The *mūlamantra* of *tripurā* is with 15 *akṣaras*.[12] The *mantra* is " *aiṁ*^{2} *klīṁ*^{3} *sauḥ*^{2} *bālātripurāyai*^{6} *svāhā*^{2} = ^{15}.

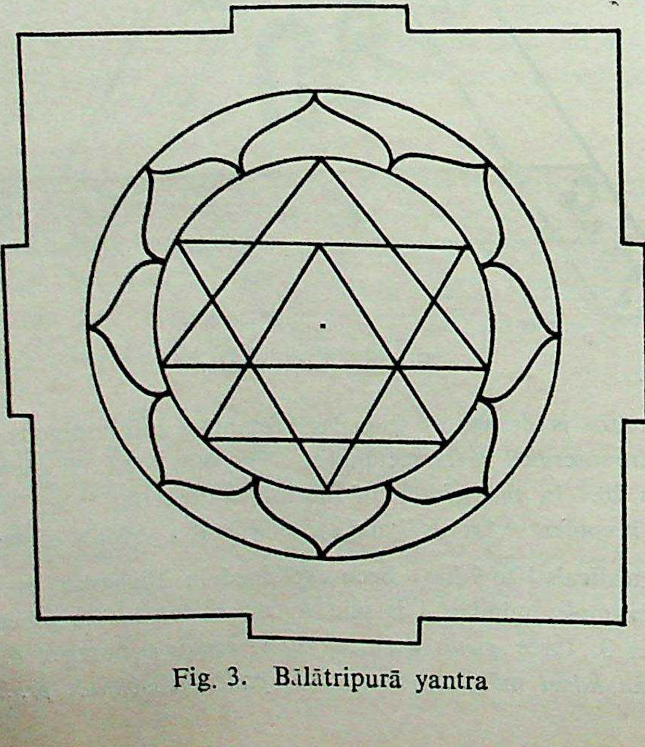


Fig. 3. Bālātripurā yantra

The first *bijākṣara* "*aim*" is derived from '*ai*' which means *Sarasvatī*, *bindu* is dispeller of sorrow. This is the *bīja* used for worship of *Sarasvatī*. The second *bījākṣara* "*klīṁ*" is derived from *ka*, *la* and *Ī*. '*ka*' refers to *kāmadeva* or according to some *kṛṣna* '*la*' means *Indra*, 'I' means contentment, "aṁ" means that which bestows happiness *Mahēśvarī* is worshipped by this *bīja*.[13]

bījākṣaras "*aiṁ klīṁ sauḥ*" are inscribed in the triangles. It is also ommon that in the petals the *mantra* "*klīṁ*" *tripurādēvī Vidmahe Kāmēśvarī lhīmahi tannaḥ klinnā pracōdayāt*" is inscribed. The "*klīṁ*" *bīja* is also iscribed in it.[14]

It is believed that the worship of this *yantra* is instrumental in bringing up ngivity and prosperity.[15]

Kālīyantra :

The *Kālīyantra* (Fig. 4) is worshipped in the *Mahākāli* temple at *Pavagadh*, *re the* presiding deity is *Kālī*.

This *yantra* is drawn with *ṣaṭkoṇas* and a triangle in the centre with the n*du* and the *ṣaṭkoṇas* are covered with five circles. In each of the circle, nber of petals are in eight, sixteen, eight and four respectively[16] and the *bījā*-*as hrīm aiṁ klīṁ sauḥ* are used. The *Kālīmantra* includes *22 bījākṣaras*. The *mantra* is "*om krīm*^{3} *hum*^{2} *hrīm*^{2} *daksine*^{3} *kālika*^{3} *krīm*^{2} *hum*^{2} *hrīm*^{2} *Svāhā*^{2}=^{22}.

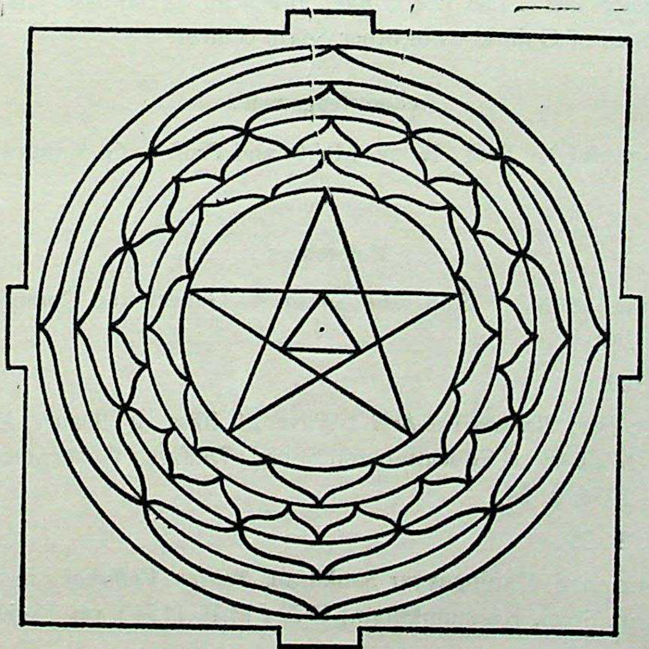


Fig. 4. Kālī yantra

"*Om*" is the primordial *dhvani* which consists of the letters, *A.U.M.*; *krīm* con sists of letters, *ka*, *ra*, *ī*. '*ka*' is '*Kāli*, '*ra*' is said to be *Brahmā* and 'Ī' mean *mahāmāyā*. *Nāda* means mother of the universe, *bindu* means dispeller of sorrov *hrīm* consists of the letters *ha*, *ra*, *i*. '*ha*' means *Śiva* and '*ra*' is said to b *prakrti*, 'I' means *mahāmāya*; *nāda* is said to be the mother of the univers *Bindu* is dispeller of sorrow. *Bhuvaneśvarī* is said to be worshipped by th *mantra*.[17]

The first *bījākṣara* "*krīm*" consists of three *akṣaras*, *ka*, *ra*, and *ī* whic stand for *kāma*, *repha* and *Indra* respectively. *Krīm* which is a *Kūrca bīja* shou be chanted first thrice and then the *bijas* "*hrīm*" should be chanted twice. *Hr* consists of the syllables *ha*, *ra*, and *i* which mean *ākāsa*, *agni* and *Indra* resp ively. This is then followed by the chant "*dakṣiṇa kālike*". The proce again repeated by *Krīm*, *hum*, *hrīm* and in the end "*Svāhā*". Thus *kā·īma* includes 22 *bījākṣara*:.[18] *Śyāmārahasya* explains the details of the *kālīyantr*

The above discussion shows that in all the *Śakta*-centres of Gujarat, *ya* worship is common and thus the mode of worship is essentially *tāntric*. Si ficantly at some centres this was the main form of worship and image seem be a later development. The use of *Visōyantra*, *Bālātripurāyantra* and *Kāliyan* at Ambaji, Bahucharāji and Pāvāgaḍh respectively indicates the difference in characteristics of the deities. It is also seen that in certain *upapīṭhas*, *ya* are made use of in worship. *Śrīyantra* is worshipped as a common *yan* most of the *upapīṭhas*. The *yantra-pūja*, therefore, is the basic characteris the *Śakta*-centres of Gujarat as in other *Śākta* centres.

Acknowledgements

I am grateful to Prof. R. N. Mehta and Prof. S. G. Kantawala for guidance.

References

1. Woodroffe, John, "*Śakti and Śakta*," Ganesh and Company, M 1975, p. 349.
2. *Ibid*, p. 349.
3. Śaṅkarācārya; *Saundaryalahari* (Wave of Bliss or Beauty, English t lation), Ministry of Education and Social Welfare, Government of I Madras, 1976, p. 24.
4. *Ibid*, pp. 24-25.
5. Nambudirippad Kanippayyar Sankaran, *Yantra Vidhikal* (in Malayala Panjangam Press, Kunnamkulam, 1979 (M.E. 1154), pp. 58-59.
6. *Ibid*, p. 59.

7. Dave, Sakarlal Yajnesvar Sastri; *Paraśurāmakalpasūtra* with Ramesvar's commentary, Oriental Institute Baroda, 1979, G.O.S., No. 22, Khand 3, pp. 85-133
8. Śaṅkarācārya, *op. cit.*, v. 11-21, pp. 24-26.
9. Information gathered from Dr. A. N. Jani, Ex-Director, Oriental Institute, Baroda.
10. *Srīmad-Bhagavadgītā*, VII.4.
11. Nambudirippad, Kanippayyur Sankaran, *op. cit.*, p. 100.
12. Mehta, N. D., *Śākta Sampradāya.* Forbes Gujarati Sabha, Bombay, 1952, p 78.

3. Woodroffe, John, *Garland of letters*, Ganesh & Co., Madras, 1979, pp. 263-264.

Nambudirippad, Kanippayyur Sankaran, *op. cit.*, p. 100.

Ibid, p 100.

Dave, Sakarlal Yajnesvar Sastri, *op. cit.*, Khanda 6, p. 197.

Woodroffe, John., Garland of Letters, *op. cit.*, pp. 262-263.

Mehta, N. D., *op. cit.*, pp. 79-80.

Dave, Sakarlal Yajnesvar Sastri, *op. cit.*, Khanda 6, pp. 182-206.

iconographic details which indeed has been a rare phenomenon in Gujarat and elsewhere. The sculptural treasure of these gates throws a flood of light on the cultural life of the people during the period. In the present paper, we propose to make an humble effort to present different aspects of the cultural life as adduced from the sculptures at Dabhoi gates.

Dress :

The dress, signifying the aspirations of the people and their taste and outlook towards life, has been an important aspect of cultural life. It helps us to mark out different strata of the society and their living. As elsewhere so also at Dabhoi, the figures usually do not wear upper garment barring *uttarīya*, which was meant more for decoration than covering the body. It was more an iconographic feature, specially with the goddesses and the *apsarās*, which helped the artists to expose their curvaceous forms with feminine grace and voluptuousness. Besides *uttarīya*, in some examples, the goddess and *apsarā* figures wear *kañculikā* or *kūcabandha* also, which was an upper garment in the form of a narrow band, giving partial covering to the breasts. There are ample references to the use of upper garment in literature.[6] The *dhotī*, *ardhajaṅghikā* and *kaupīna* were used a lower garment. Of these, the *uttarīya* and the *dhotī* were the most important o the contemporary dress at Dabhoi, and also elsewhere. The types and details o the dress at Dabhoi are similar to those noticed at other Chaulukyan sites, namely Ghumalī (Navalakhā temple) and Moḍherā (Sun temple).

The *uttarīya* was commonly worn by the divine figures and the men an women of all the classes. It was either a long or a short narrow and lig apparel, arranged in different fashions. We come across the literary referenc to the fineness of the *uttarīya* worn by women.[7] In the figures at Dabhoi, t two ends of the *uttarīya* are generally shown as fluttering in the air[8]. (Fig. 1 Nos. 9-10). However, the following mode of wearing *uttarīya* has been noticed at the

---

[6] Hemachandra, describing the ladies of the Mārū country, mentions t some of them did not care to adjust their upper garment to cover their bos and abdomen while proceeding hastily to see the king Durlabharāja of Gurjararāṣṭra, as he arrived to attend the marriage of the sister of the kin that country. The term used by Hemachandra for upper garment is *udarasta pīḍhāyakam vastram* (the garment covering the abdomen and the breasts). T description makes it clear that it was considered proper to wear the up garment in such a fashion that it not only covered the breasts but also the ab men. Probably, this garment was like an apron with sleeves which we do come across at Ghumalī.

[7] Kālidāsa describes the garment covering the breasts as *stanottarīya* a Dandin as *stanāṁśuka*. The garment was so light that it could be displac even by the breath. *Raghuvaṁśa*, XVI, 17; cf. *Ṛtusaṁhāra*, I, 7; *Daśakumā carita*, ed. by N. R. Acharya, Bombay, 1951.

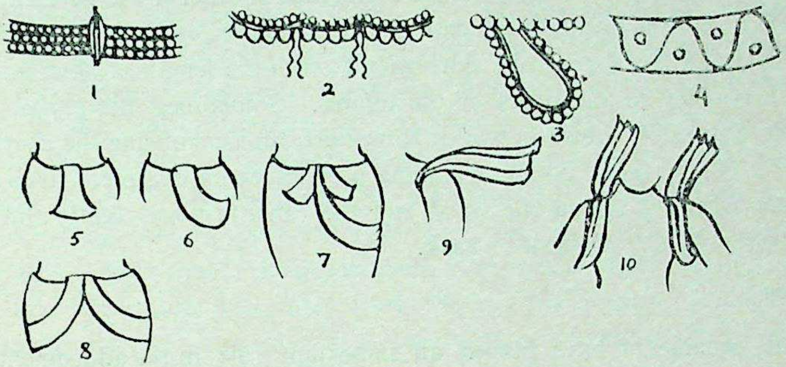


Fig. 1

site. Sometimes, it dangles sideways either upto the knees, feet, or the hips, or runs horizontally across the body with its ends hanging over the arms or the shoulders for giving partial covering to the breasts in case of the female figures. In several instances, it was disposed horizontally at the middle on the back with its two ends passing between the arms and the breasts and hanging from the shoulder at the back. Sometimes, only one end is arranged in the above manner while the other end is thrown carelessly on one of the arms, thus leaving one of the breasts completely exposed. The most popular mode of putting on *uttarīya* vas to throw it carelessly over the arms with its pleated ends being allowed to angle on either side. In few examples, the pleated *uttarīya* is decorated in uch a manner which looks like a metal band on the shoulder[9].

The *dhotī*, long or short, loose or tight, was the main lower garment. The ode of wearing it was not much different among men and women. The short *otī*, covering only half of the thigh and drawn tightly between the thighs on the ht and tucked up at the back, was common among men, and was specially oured in cases of warriors, horse and elephant riders and other male figures gaged in various activities. In some instances, female figures even wear such rt *dhotī*. But in majority of the cases, they wear long *dhotī* with schematic ds, extended upto a little above the ankles with few pleats, tastefully gathered the front and being tucked-up at the back, leaving bunch of loose ends hang- downwards.[10] It was kept in position at the waist invariably by a girdle, inly in case of dancers where its oblique folds are indicated by rhythmic incised lines. There are several figures which wear tight-fitting trousers like dress. In few instances the figures wear foot-wear (slipper) also.

---

[8] Figures on Nāndod gate.

[9] Figures on Kālikāmātā temple.

[10] *Ibid.*

The short *paṭkā* hanging on the front, was another lower garment (Fig. 1, Nos. 5-8). It was decorated in case of divine figures, *apsarās* and dancers. Its shortness or longness generally corresponds with the length of *dhotī* and flutters in air according to the poses of the figures. Sometimes, the *paṭkā*, specially in divine figures, is shown in two or three tiers, thus enhancing the charm of the figures.[11] The *kaupīna*, common among ascetics was a two-piece strap of cloth. One piece was tied round the waist and the other fastened tightly and running between the thighs from front to back.

Ornament :

The ornaments have played an important role in the adornment of men and women from the remote past. The various materials such as, leaves, flowers, feathers, bone, terracotta, metal, stone etc., and the patterns, used for the ornaments were always changing, but the lust for these remained unaltered. The *mukuṭas*, necklaces, ear-rings, girdles, anklets, and bracelets were the main ornaments at Dabhoi common among both the sexes. The difference is noticed only in their variety. The beads of different shapes and their strings were the chief objects for these ornaments.

The head ornaments are shown mainly with divine figures, wearing either *kirīṭa* or *karaṇḍa mukuṭas*[12]. The other figures are represented without any head ornament. The ear-ring (*kuṇḍala*), common among the people of every class, is either plain or with a single string of beads. The ornaments for neck do not show much variety. However, long or short necklaces of different variety may be noticed mainly in case of the divine figures and the *apsarās*. Th common men and women used to wear only *ekāvalī*, a necklace of single bead string. The short necklaces lay close around the neck or a little below it. T necklaces are made mainly of beaded strings either with single pendant in centre or pendants in between the beads.[13] In case of female figures, it has more addition, which shows two long beaded strings passing between the br and turning to back below the breasts (*stanahāra*).[14] This variety is notic some divine figures as well.

The bracelets (*valaya*) and the armlets (*bhujabandha*) were the prin hand ornaments at Dabhoi. The armlets made of round beads were simp design and do not show much variety. The simpler variety was common w

---

11 Figures on Vaināyakī on Nāndod gate.

12 Figures on Kālikāmātā temple.

13 *Ibid.*

14 Vārāhī and other divine figures on Nāndod gate.

musicians, dancers, hunters, riders, labourers etc. However, in case of divine figures, there appears an ornate appendage in the armlet projecting ards. The bracelet made of small round beads, was worn by all the figures. girdle (*mekhalā*) was the most favourite ornament used by the people. e were two purposes of wearing this ornament, one for the adornment and for keeping the lower garment in position. The girdles worn by the deities the *apsarās* are highly decorated and superior in quality (Fig. 1 nos. 3, 4) e those by lay-men are of simpler design.[14A] The girdle in case of divine res consists of an ornate belt from which there hang strands, leaving several pended loops on the thighs and buttocks. (Fig. 1, no. 3) In several mples, it is seven-stringed, including bead strings and plain metal band.[15] ig. 1, no. 2) The anklet was either a tight-fitting or a loose ornament worn ove the ankles by men and women of every class. It usually consisted of gle string of small round beads. Sometimes, the loose variety shows two or e rows of beaded strings as well. The divine figures are usually shown with tight-fitting anklets in each of the ankles.

style :

The art of hair-dressing specially that of women, involved great deal of on, thought and artistic genius which is reflected in rich variety of hair- ound in Indian art. The Sanskrit literature is full of such descriptions hair styles. It is somewhat surprising to note that the hair arrange- e figures at Dabhoi do not show much of variety and are rather plain as against the rich variety noticed at other Chaulukyan sites, umalī and Moḍherā. The men and women at Dabhoi wore long hair nly style prevalent among them was combed tresses, arranged in a not at the back of the neck.[16] The fashion of having long and tapering s popular among the men which has been trimmed from its lower end of royal and *yogī* figures.

nd Dance :

music and dance, expressing the aesthetic sense and liking for per- arts of the people, have been a favoured subject in Indian art since very . These scenes also reflect the joyous life enjoyed by the people. ering of such scenes was specially favoured during the early medieval innumerable examples of this have been carved on the temples of all ns. We come across numerous instances of music and dance at Dabhoi.

Figures on Kālikāmātā temple.

Figures on Kālikāmātā temple and *Mātṛkā* figures on Nāndod and gates.

Figures on Kālikāmāta temple,

In this connection, the examples of musical instruments are of specific inte
which show a rich variety both in forms and types. The flute and drums
different types (Fig. 2 nos. 3-8) were the most important of all the instruments
The instruments like modern *sehnāī* and *ḍhapalī* (one sided drum) come ne
these. (Fig. 2 nos. 1, 2, 9) Usually, men are shown playing on these instrume

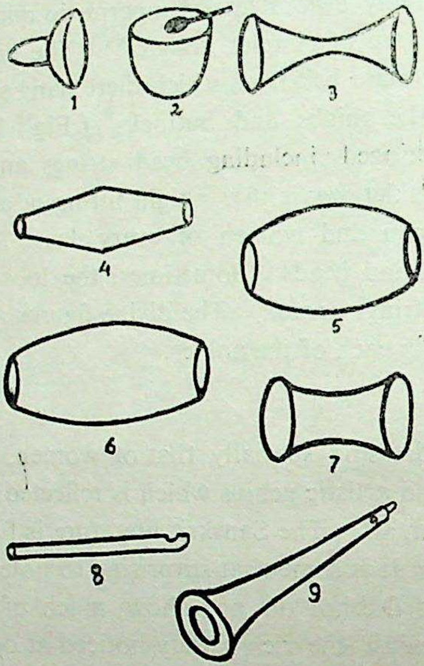


Fig. 2

in dance scenes. There is an example which shows a dancer accomp
six instrumentalists, playing on flute, *sehnāī ḍhapalī*, and some uni
instruments [18] The scene suggests that the dance performance was accom
by a number of instrumentalists, which indeed complicates the whole
composition since it demands to keep the accomplices in tune, correspo
each other. The dances were performed in different intricate poses
men and women. The *apsarā* figures exhibit such intricate poses. T
figures where two male or two female figures are carved dancing togeth
might be suggestive of some sort of dance competition.[19] In some ca
the *cāmara*-bearers are portrayed in different dance poses. The dancing
are shown in rhythmic movements and different intricate *bhaṅgas*.

---

[17] The *mṛdaṅga* was the most popular among drums.

[18] Figures on Baroda gate, eastern side.

[19] Figures on Baroda gate.

Games and Amusement :

There are various scenes at Dabhoi pertaining to games and amusement, which include hunting, man-animal fight, music and dance etc. It may be remarked here that these have been main modes of amusement all the times. Of all these, the hunting has been the most important one. It was an outer game, which was popular particularly with the men of wealth and leisure. It appears that the hunting parties used to go out for hunting after much preparations along with paraphernalia, which included hunters riding on horses, elephants, sometimes on camels, and some on foot with different weapons, such as, bow, arrow, sword and shield. In one instance, depicted on Nāndod gate, a horse rider and an elephant are attacking an animal from both the sides.[20] In several examples, the scenes of hunting of boar, elephant and lion with sword and shield have been shown.[21]

There are only a few instances showing animal combats. In such examples, only elephant combats are shown in which the trunks of the elephants are interwoven with each other.[22] The elephant figures in such cases are represented in realistic manner. The man-animal fight was a popular mode of amusement represented by a good number of examples. In some cases, the man is shown engaged in a fight with a lion or a boar or an elephant with some weapon or even ithout it. It seems that wrestling was not popular since we come across a soliry instance of it, wherein two male figures are shown engaged in *muṣṭiyuddha*.

litary Life :

The depiction of military life has been a favoured subject at Dabhoi and all er Chaulukyan sites. These scenes at Dabhoi show different aspects of the of war and also that the army consisted of the infantry and soldiers riding lephants, horses and camel.[23] The palanquin and chariots were also used in processions. The elephants, regarded as a superior fighting unit, had a pro- place in the army. There are numerous scenes in which elephants are as marching in procession with infantry and cavalry and sometimes killing nel. The elephants were also used as conveyance for the kings shaded by The elephants in such cases are led by a chariot and sometimes also by a ith a rider beating a drum.[24] The horses shown in the war procession are g-aparisoned. In one of the scenes, a horse rider is attacking an elephant.[25] e several composite figures shown in war processions, viz. horse-lion and rd. In some cases, the soldiers even ride over *siṁha-vyāla* (lion-leo-

---

Scene on Mahudī gate.

Figures on Nāndod and Morī gate

Figures on Kālikāmātā temple and Baroda gate.

25 Figures on Kālikāmātā temple.

graph). The foot soldiers, marching in procession with sword, shield, bow a arrow, have been rendered in different ways (Fig. 3). The figures in su instances are always carved in relevant actions.[26] There is a good figure wh two soldiers are shown fighting with sword and shield.

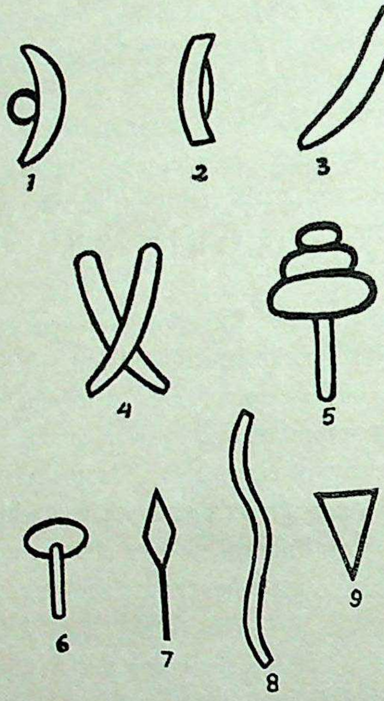


Fig. 3

Religion :

The sculptures at Dabhoi gates show a number of figures of deities of Brāhmanic pantheon. These are related mainly with the Śaiva and Śākta cults. Śiva was worshipped both in aniconic (*liṅga*)[27] and human forms.[28] The popularity of Śākta cult is manifested in the figures of divine mothers and few other goddesses which include Vārāhī, Nārasiṁhī, Cāmuṇḍā, Mahākālī, Sarasvatī, Durgā, Pārvatī and Gaja-Lakṣmī. Of these, Vārāhī, represented by the maximum number of sculptures, was the most favoured at the site. Besides, the figures of Brahmā, Dikpālas, Indra, Agni, Kubera and Vāyu, represented by a good number of sculptures, also connote their popularity at the site.[29] The composite figures of different deities and the figures of Hayagrīva are also available at the site.[30] It has been remarked that the figures of Hayagrīva are of particular iconographic interest since they are reported for the first time from Dabhoi gates in Gujarat.[31] The site was also under the *Tāntric* influence which is evidenced by the occurrence of the figures of the 14 *yoginīs* and some of the *sādhu* figures in skeletal forms.[32] The figures of *Nāthayogīs* at these gates merit special attention since they are rarely met with in concrete manifestations and also because they are here portrayed with the specific iconographic details and names. However, there are two instances of mythological representations also which depict the story of the churning of ocean and the death of king Parīkṣit on the facade of the Kālikāmātā temple.[33]

---

[26] Figures on Kālikāmātā temple.

[27] Scene on Mahudī gate.

[28] Figure of Śiva-Pārvatī on Mahudī gate.

[29] Figures on Kālikāmātā temple and the gates.

Erotic :

The examples of erotic figures are meagre at Dabhoi as compared to other Chaulukyan sites. The amorous couples are usually shown clasping the hands or embracing each other. In few instances, the male figures are enjoying sexual mating from the back.[34]

Miscellaneous Scences :

There are many examples at these gates and temple which show several other aspects of the contemporary life. In some of these a royal person is shown sitting on a stool or lying on a coach in leisure (Fig. 4).[35] There are sculptural examples, where the couples are sitting in different relaxed poses in the balconies, either watching the processions or listening to the discourse of some *sādhu*.[36] However, some couples are standing under a tree with attendants. In some such examples, they are shown either holding the tree or sitting on its branches.[37] There is an example where a male is shown carrying a *bahaṅgī*.[38] There are few *kautuka* figures at the site which show a horse-faced figure standing on a human body, two figures with common head,[39] and figures with horse face and elephant body. In few cases the *yogī* figures standing on one leg are carved in the posture of rigorous austerity.

---

[30] Figures on Baroda gate.

[31-33] Bhan, Kuldeep K., *Sculptures of Fort Gates at Dabhoi*, (unpublished) dissertation for the Master's degree in Arts submitted to the M. S. University of Baroda, Baroda, 1978.

[34] Scene on Baroda gate.

[35] Figures on Kālikāmātā temple.

[36] *Ibid.*

[37] Figures on Kālikāmātā temple and Mahudī gate.

[38] A familiar method of transportation in which the objects to be transported are either kept or tied with the rope at the two ends of the strong pole carried by a man on the shoulder.

[39] One of these figures has a tail.

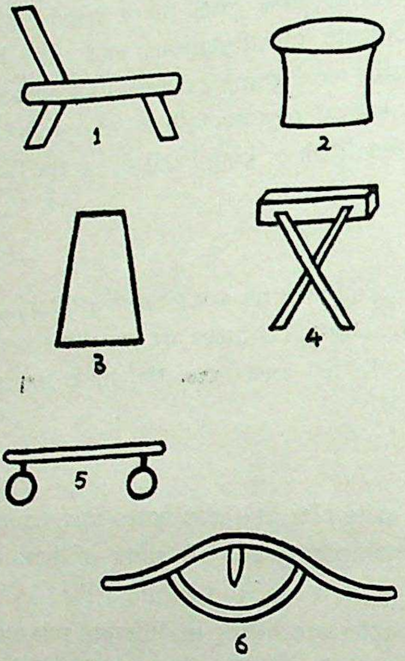


Fig. 4

From the foregoing discussion it is clear that the sculptures at Dabhoi depict almost all the important aspects of the contemporary life. It is clear from the examples that the people believed in leading joyous life and hence special care has been taken of such scenes which pertain to music, dance, games and other modes of amusement. In this regard the variety of musical instruments is specially note-worthy. The dress, ornaments and hair-styles are more or less the same as noticed at other Chaulukyan sites, but they exhibit less variety. The depiction of military life is vivid and shows how the people were actively involved in warfare which was indeed the point of high importance during the medieval times. The site has yielded the figures of the deities of Śaiva, Śākta, *Nāthayogī* and other sects with sufficient variety in their iconographic forms which at once suggest the amicable relations among different sites in the region. In this connection the *Nāthayogī* figures, signifying the popularity of *Nāthayogī* cult, are specially significant from the stand point of religion and iconography, and also in view of their paucity in sculptural manifestation.

Illustrations

1 Girdle, *paṭkā* and *uttarīya*
2 Musical instruments—drums, flute, *sehnāī.*
3 War weapons.
4 Stool, *bahaṅgī* and palanquin.

Courtesy

Fig. 1; Shri Karnaman Singh, Varanasi.
Figs. 2, 3, 4; Shri V. P. Singh, Varanasi.

SOCIO-POLITICAL FACTORS FOR ESTABLISHMENT OF AHMEDABAD

By

R. N. Mehta*

Introduction :

A perusal of the establishment of towns and cities indicates that usually the Socio-political, economic, cultural and other factors enter into the decision making for not only the establishment of towns and cities, but also for change of capitals.

While considering these aspects of the establishment of Ahmedabad, it is found that the Persian chronicals like Mirat-e-Sikandari, Mirat-e-Ahmedi are either silent or rely on the folk tales that had developed after the city became well known. A Persian poem by Halvi Shirzi is quoted by Mirat-e-Ahmedi. It is written about the time of Ahmadshah. But it does not solve the problem, as the description is a mere glorification of the city.

The historical narratives noted in English are also in the same situation, as they have mostly relied on these sources. The narratives in Gujarati are also of similar nature.

Political Factors of 14th century :

This position in English is clearly stated in the Gazeteer of the Bombay presidency Vol. IV as follows : " In 1411 (March 4th), Sultan Ahmed I, like his father Sultan Muhammed, fond of the site and air of Asaval on the Sabarmati, chose it as his capital, and in honour of four Ahmedas, himself, his religious teacher Shaikh Ahmad Khattu, and two others, Kazi Ahmed and Malik Ahmad, named it Ahmedabad " (p. 249). It is, therefore, necessary to consider the question in some details and draw conclusions about the possible factors that made Ahmedshah or his councellors to choose Ahmedabad as the capital. This is essential for understanding the situation prevailing in the late 14th and early 15th century, because a natural question may be raised that from the establishment of the political control by the Khaljis in 1304 A.D., Anhilwad Patan remained the head-quarters of Delhi Sultans throughout the century. If the town had served well for about a century, what went wrong there, so that the capital had to be shifted to a new place ?

Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. 34, Nos. 3-4, March-June 1985 issue, pp. 193-199

* 8, Shreyas Society, Race-course Circle (West), Baroda-390 007.

A consideration of geographical factors like the weather, air etc. as noted by chronicles does not solve the problem, because Anhilvad with its long tradition of about six centuries as a capital had necessary geographical factors, and in this context Ahmedabad had nothing special about it. For simply good air it was not necessary to change the capital and incur heavy expenditure of building a new one. The geographical factors seem to be a comouflage to screen out of view the other aspects of the Socio-political climate of the period. It is therefore necessary to examine the question from a different angle.

Political Power at Delhi and Gujarat :

It is a significant fact, that the rapid development of the political power of Delhi during the thirteenth and fourteenth century, started crumbling during the period of Muhammad Tughluq. He had to run about in his kingdom to quell different riots and he died in Sind in this effort. The Deccan was already lost.

His successor Firozshah did not try to reconquer the lost territories, but succeeded in keeping the area under the Tughluqs in fairly good order but in the later years of this dynasty during the rule of Sultan Nasiruddin Mahmad Shah, Delhi was shaken up and its power was considerately weakened. The officers of Tughluqs at Delhi had started quarrelling for power before Timur's invasion. In this power struggle Tatarkhan Muhammad, the Father of Ahmad, who established Ahmedabad, lost to Iqbalkhan in 1398 A.D. He came to his father Zafar Khan to Patan. The arrival of Tatarkhan to Patan had political bearings because he knew with his experience the situation at Delhi. After the invasion of Timur, the condition of the Tughluqs deteriorated further. The east became independent and the internal struggle of the officers of Delhi ruined its power. It was easy for a strong officer to become independent. So Tatarkhan proclaimed his independence and assumed the title of Muhammad Shah. Asawal seems to have helped him in this effort to such an extent that he could establish his power, imprison his father and could then take out an expedition, in 1403 A.D.

Tatarkhan in Gujarat :

Gujarat was well managed by his father and with a strong force from Gujarat, Tatarkhan who was a vazir of Sultan Nasiruddin Mahmad Tughluq, envisaged a plan to conquer Delhi, and establish his authority. However his more experienced father did not concede to his plan.

Tatarkhan's plan to invade Delhi collapsed, but he knew the situation a Delhi well. If, he would try to become independent it was not within the powe of Delhi to fight for its own right. Timur's invasion had increased this weakne and therefore considerations of carving out an independent kingdom might hav weighed heavily with Tatarkhan. Tatarkhan wanted to make an effort to establi a separate kingdom. However, his Father possibly did not approve of his plan an therefore, he could not operate from Anhilwad Patan. He had to shift h activities to some other place. His choice fell upon Asawal, a prosperous town on the Sabarmati, as noted above.

Around Asawal, Shaikh Eraji, Shaikh Ahmad Khattu, Kutube-Alam and other saints were living at this time. Their presence suggests a sizable following of Muslims at this site. Probably after consulting the leaders of this population and explaining his plans, Tatarkhan announced the independent state of Gujarat in 1403 A.D.

Zafarkhan and Tatarkhan :

His action in 1403 A.D. was possibly not liked by Zafarkhan. However after establishing the kingdom from Asawal, Tatarkhan marched towards the southern Gujarat and while returning from there he died on the banks of the Narmada. His death is variously explained. But one of the early explanation, indicates that he was poisoned due to the wishes of his Father Zafarkhan who was imprisoned by him. The sad demise of Tatarkhan might have left a deep impression on his young son Ahmed, who might be about thirteen years old.

The action taken by Tatarkhan was not liked by Zafarkhan. But he did not change it. He assumed the charge of the state of Gujarat under the name of Muzaffar shah and continued to rule. Thus the Father became the ruler, after, not only not approving his son's policies, but even eliminating him by poisoning. Muzaffar made Ahmed the heir apparent. By 1403/4 A.D. the action was complete.

Ahmed and Zafarkhan :

In 1410-11 A.D. as a Youth of about twenty Years (Born in 1391), Ahmed turned against his grand father and poisoned him, upon possibly the advice of some of his Father's followers and the support of ulmas. At Patan this action would have been considered unfavourably by the Tank and other supporters of Sulatan Muzaffar. This inference could be made on the basis of their action against Tatarkhan.

Muzaffar was a son of a tank convert who had come to Gujarat with a good force. This force of Tanks who possibly did not like Ahmed's action, would take revenge if an opportunity be available to them. Moreover, Muzaffar's sons, Firozkhan, Sher Khan and Saadat Khan also were resenting the rise of their Nephew, and they took action against him. Thus Patan the capital was a city full of trouble for young Ahmed due to the presence not only of the supporters of Muzaffar but also due to the sympathizers of his uncles. Ahmed's action of poisoning his grand father might have made Anhilvad Patan unsafe for him.

Possible trouble at Patan :

This situation would have forced Ahmed and his associates also to consider the merit of staying at Patan amidst dissatisfied followers of his grand-father and uncles, or move to some other safe site in his territory. If the latter decision was to be taken, the natural question of the selection of site would arise.

Choice of New Capital :

The contemporary situation of the kingdom of Muzaffar indicated, that it had control on the central land of Gujarat between Anhilwad Patan and Bharuch. The kutch, Saurashtra and eastern parts of the state were not under his control. So the choice had to be limited to this area between Anhilwad Patan and Bharuch. In the given area, the best choice would be the city of friends and well wishers. with such constraints of the choice, Vadodara or Bharuch were out of question as the area was controlled by Firozkhan and was nearer the border of Malwa.

The situation at Asawal was more favourable, because it had assisted Tatarkhan the father of Ahmed to raise the kingdom of Gujarat against the desire of Muzaffar. Some of the religious mentors of Ahmed already residing here would give him much needed psychological strength. During the short regime of his father Tatarkhan, Asawal had strongly supported him. Possibly due to this support he could even imprison his father and feel so confident that he left it for a march of conquest. Possibly some of these elements created disturbance in 1410, A.D. that gave Ahmed an excuse to move out of Patan with an army prior to poisoning his grand father. These considerations of the contemporary situation possibly weighed heavily in favour of Asawal and hence preparations were made to build the royal palace near Asawal. The chronicles note this fact, and assumes that Asa was defeated by Ahmed. This chronological fallacy is still current and is discussed later on.

Religious rites, their significance :

If the religious sentiments are taken into consideration, it is reported that Khijra or Elijah was consulted by the ruler, through shaikh Khattu. Khijra is a protector of travellers in difficulties and is a well-known saint respected by mariners and travellers. Consulation with one who helps in the time of trouble suggests the psychological state of Ahmed who wanted protection even of the Divine while laying the foundation of the city, that would protect him from the contemporary turmoil. Possibly his knowledge of the tragic end of his father would have been a strong link in this religious effort for safety.

Besides this the elaborate religious help of four Ahmeds and twelve Babas, that was asked also indicates that the sultan did not want to leave any stone unturned for his safety and well-being, in the new place, near his well-wishers. This state of mind of the Sultan could be inferred from the narrative about the layout of the palatial area, and the assistance of four Ahmeds and twelve Babas, so that the safety of the new palace was ensured.

Chronological considerations :

The incidental aspects of chronology also are interesting. Ahmed poisoned his grand father in January 1411 A.D. The building of Ahmedabad was also taken with great speed reaching upto hurry in the same year. This quick action indicates that a swift change was needed for the new Sultan, and Asawal was the best answer.

It is too well known to comment that Ahmed's arrival at Asawal and his establishment of his capital had the desired effect of peace for him, and prosperity for Asawal, that was engulfed slowly into the expanding capital. This change of the capital had developed very interesting folk tales about the cause of the change. These are usually accepted as good reasons for the change. They are analysed below.

Folk tale of Tejan and Asa Bhil :

The story is noted in Amdavad-no-Itihasa by Maganlal Vakhatchand. It narrates the marriage of Tejan, a daughter of Asa Bhil with Ahmedshah. It is a folk tale that is possibly intended to explain the shift of the capital. Its chronological frame work is *mixed* up but the threads could be separated.

The name of the ruler is given as Asa Bhil. This name was known in this area since the time at least of Merutunga, who noted it. The name explains the toponym Asawal as a small settlement of Asa, that was possibly built by him much prior to the 11th century A.D. If the antiquities of Ahmedabad be any guide the date may be pushed two to three centuries earlier. Thus Asa was living in about 8th century A.D. and therefore chronologically, the folk-tale is untenable.

This Asawal attracted Ahmed. The reason advanced by the folk story is the attraction for Tejan. This is an interesting name. It is well known that near Astodia there is a mausoleum of Rani sipari or Asni. This place is near the site of old Asawal. These names Asni and sipari or sipri when interpreted through Sanskrit meanings, give the equation of lightning, speed and the light of the lightning, i.e. Tejas. The name Tejan, thus could be explained as the light of Asawal and in folk-tale it is noted that Tejan was the daughter of Asa or Asabhil. It is clear that the economic and socio-political strength and light of the town that attracted the ruler Ahmed to the site, is explained as a marriage of a daughter of a ruler who established the town with Ahmad, in the folk-tale.

This folk tale incidentally could not have been developed before the middle of the 16th century because the mausoleum of Asni belongs to the early part of the 16th century. Without interpretation the folk-tale cannot explain the historical setting of the popular mind, that developed it.

Folk tale of Rabbit attacking a Hound :

Another folk tale that accounts for the selection of the site, narrates that a rabbit had attacked a hound of the ruler when he was on hunting expedition. Though amusing and appealing to the heroic sentiments, the story is too imaginative to be true.

However, it is found that such stories of heroic ventures are developed at different sites. The one at Ahmedabad is a direct application of the story told about Anhilwad Patan by Merutungacharya. Similar story is known about Jamnagar and Bhuj also, and therefore, it is an interesting motif that requires some consideration.

The motif intends to show the heroism of a weak animal against a strong adversary, and thereby suggests that the site is fit for a royal residence. The word vīrakṣetra is also used to explain such sites of Royal capitals. Needless to say that royal capitals and large towns are the focal points of attraction of trade, commerce, fortune-seekers and enemies as plunderers and soldiers as defenders. The towns had therefore to struggle heroically for their survival in the times of stress. This struggle requires army and man-power, that would be attracted to the court and turn the centre as a military power also.

This situation is aptly described by Bāṇa Bhaṭṭa in his Harṣacarita, while narrating Sthāṇviśvara. This motif of heroic activities or vīra kṣetra is applied to many centres and Ahmedabad is no exception.

It is also noted in folk tales that Ahmed Shah moved out of Patan more or less like an exodus with much infantry, cavalry and even took building material also from the town. Though archaeological evidence of the removal of materials from Patan cannot be supported, the folk tale pithily notes that the capital was shifted for good. The story notes the movement like an exodus, also suggests that Ahmed had to leave Patan for reasons that are at best vaguely explained in these stories. Significantly Patan lost its premier position that it never regained, though Damajirao Gaekwad made an effort in the 18th century.

Conclusion :

Thus, an analysis of the socio-political situation of Patan and Gujarat, at the close of the 14th and beginning of the 15th century, and the attraction of Asawal, the elaborate religious rites to protect the capital etc. indicate that the change of capital from Anhilvad Patan was more dictated by the socio-political situation than mere geographical consideration. Later on folk tales were developed to explain it by other factors, so as to hide the real reasons. Upon close analysis of the available data, however, it becomes reasonably clear that the court struggle and its party politics were more important factors for the choice of Ahmedabad as a capital of Gujarat.

References

Yahya Sarhindi, *Tarikh..e. Mubarakshahi*, Atthar Rizvis Translation in uttar Timur buling Bharat Aligarh University, Aligarh, 1958.

Sikandar Bin Manzu *Mirat..e. Sikandari*, Part II p. 25/9 1959.

Mirza Ali Mahammadikhan, *Mirat..e. Ahamadi* (Lokhandwala's Translation G. O. Series, No. 146, page. 35 ff, Oriental Institute, Baroda, Merutungacharya, *Prabandha Chintamani, Granth No 3*. Singhi Jain Granthmala, Bharatiya Vidhya Bhavan, Bombay, Ahmedadad-Calcutta, 1940, p. 13.

Mehta R.N. *Virakshetra Vadodara*, Svadhyaya, Vl. 21, No. 3 p. 306 ff.

Sheth Maganlal Vakhatchand *Amdavad no Ithiasa*, 1858, Reprint, Gujarat Vidya Sabha. Ahmedabad. 1929 A.D.

Jote Ratanmani Rao *Gujaratnu Patnagar Amdavad*, Gujarati Sahitya Sabha, Ahmedabad p. 151 ff.

Mishra S.C. *The Rise of muslim power in Gujarat*, Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers, Pvt. Ltd. Second ed. New Delhi, 1982

Syed Nawabali & Seddon C. N. *Mirat-e-Ahamadi supplement* G. O. Series No. 13, Oriental Institute. Baroda. 1928, p. 1 ff

OUR LATEST MONUMENTAL PUBLICATIONS

RAJPUT PAINTING : 2 Vols.—ANAND K. COOMARASWAMY,
—with a Foreword by KARL J. KHANDALAVALA
pp. 108 *text.* 7 *Multi-coloured plates*, 96 *plates*, *Delhi*, 1976 *Cloth Rs.* 500
A valuable guide to understand Rajput Painting of the 14th Century A.D.; the book portrays the popular religious motifs and offers information on Hindu Customs, Costumes and Architecture.

A HISTORY OF INDIAN PHILOSOPHY : 5 Vols.—S. N. DASGUPTA
pp. 2,500: *Delhi*, 1975: *Rs.* 200
A comprehensive study of Philosophy in its historical perspective. The author traces the origin and development of Indian Philosophy to the very beginnings, from Buddhism and Jainism, through monistic dualistic and pluralistic systems that have found expression in the religions of India.

THE HINDU TEMPLE : 2 Vols.—STELLA KRAMRISCH
pp. 308, 170 (*text*) + 81 *plates*, *Delhi*, 1976, *Cloth Rs.* 250
The work explains the types of the spiritual significance of the Hindu Temple architecture, traces the origin and development of the same from the Vedic fire altar to the latest forms, discusses the superstructure, measurement, proportion and other matters related to temple architecture.

TAXILA : 3 Vols.—SIR JOHN MARSHALL
pp. 420, 516, 246 *plates*, *Delhi*, 1975, *Cloth Rs.* 400
The book records the political and cultural history of N. W. India (500 B.C.—A.D. 500), the development of Buddhism, the rise and fall of political powers—Aryans, Greeks, Sakas etc. and illustrates the archaeological remains by 246 photographs.

JAIN AGAMAS : Volume 1 Acaranga and Sutrakrtanga (Complete)
Ed. by MUNI JAMBU VIJAYAJI, *pp.* 786: *Delhi*, 1978, *Cloth Rs.* 120
The volume contains the Prakrit Text of the two agamas, Exposition by Bhadrabahu in Prakrit, the Sanskrit Commentary by Śīlāṅka, Introduction Appendices etc. by Muni Jambu Vijayaji Maharaja.

ANCIENT INDIAN TRADITION AND MYTHOLOGY (in English translation) (Mahāpurāṇas)—General Editor: PROF. J. L. SHASTRI. *App. In Fifty Volumes Each Vol. Rs.* 50 *Postage Extras pp.* 400 *to* 500 *each Vol.*: *Clothbound with Gold Letters and Plastic Cover.* In this series 12 Vols. have been published: Clothbound with Gold letters. Vols. 1-4 Śiva Purāṇa; Vols. 5-6 Liṅga Purāṇa, Vols. 7-11 Bhāgavata Purāṇa, Vol. 12 Garuda Purāṇa (Part I).

INDIA AND INDOLOGY: Collected Papers of PROF. W. NORMAN BROWN—Ed. by PROF. ROSANE ROCHER: *pp.* 38 + 304, *Cloth Rs.* 190
The book contains important contributions of Prof. W. Norman Brown to Indology: Vedic Studies and Religion, fiction and folklore, art and philology, the book contains a biographical sketch of Prof. Norman Brown and a bibliography of his writings.

ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF INDIAN PHILOSOPHIES: Ed. KARL H. POTTER *Vol. I Bibliography. pp.* 811, *Rs.* 80, *Vol. II Nyāya Vaiseṣika, pp.* 752, *Rs.* 150
This is an attempt by an international team of scholars to present the contents of Indian Philosophical texts to a wider public. Vol. I contains the Bibliography of the works on Indian Philosophies. Vol. II gives a historical resume, nature of a philosophical system and summaries of works beginning from Kāṇāda.

SERINDIA : *Demy Quarto, Vols. I-III Text, Appendices, Indices, Illustrations* 545, (*pp.* 1-1580): *Vol. IV Plates* 175, *Vol. V Maps* 94 (Shortly)
This book is based on a report of explorations carried out by Sir Aurel Stein in Central Asia and Western most China and contains scholarly analysis of the finds by experts in their respective fields.

PLEASE WRITE FOR OUR DETAILED CATALOGUE
MOTILAL BANARSIDASS
Indological Publishers and Booksellers
Bungalow Road, Jawahar Nagar, DELHI-110007 (INDIA

TRADE ECONOMY OF COASTAL GUJARAT IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

By

K. S. MATHEW*

Oriental commodities were already in wide circulation in Europe and Africa when in the sixteenth century the commercial revolution was effected. Indian spices and cloths were in great demand in Western Europe as well as in the East African coasts. Having come to know of the importance of the Indian goods, the European powers vied with one another to reach the source of these commodities rather than purchase them at the hands of the Venetian merchants and the Muslims at an unimaginably higher price. The Indian merchants especially the Gujarati merchants were found in almost all the important ports in Asia and Africa as well as in the Middle East. One could say that among the Indian merchants, the Gujaratis held the most important position in the Oceanic trade and Gujarat was the most commercialised centre in the whole of the subcontinent, and the ports and the trading centres in Gujarat were the haven of several merchants. It is clear that the interaction between trade especially external trade and the growth of towns is something worth studying and the fascinating history of the development of several towns is nothing other than the history of external trade. It is chiefly by external trade that the capital began to be accumulated in the hands of the merchant classes and financiers in the town and this in its turn had its effects on the structure of society at large.

Little work has been so far done to throw light on the subject under discussion, though M. N. Pearson and S. Gopal tried to bring to the fore the Merchants and Rulers of Gujarat[1] and the Crafts and trade in the Sixteenth century Gujarat[2] respectively. But, a systematic perusal of the Portuguese documentation that is the most important source of information for the period remains yet to be a *desideratum*. Drawing in general on the contemporary Portuguese documentation, and in particular the Codex Fronteira NO. M VII-4,

---

Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. 34, Nos. 3-4 March-June 1985 issue, pp. 201 to 215.

* Deptt. of History, Faculty of Arts, M. S. University of Baroda, Baroda-390002.

[1] Pearson M. N. *Merchants and Rulers in Gujarat, the Response to the Portuguese in the Sixteenth Century*, University of California Press, London, 1976

[2] Surendra Gopal, *Commerce and Crafts in Gujarat—16th and 17th Centuries*—A study on the impact of the European expansion on precapitalist Economy, People's publishing House, Delhi, 1975.

folios 192-286 preserved in the Archives of the House of the Marquises of Fronteira, Counts of Torre in Portugal, an attempt is made here below to throw some light on the subject. The chief emphasis of the paper is on the external trade and the trading centres since these documents deal mainly with such a topic, and the period covered is the first half of the sixteenth century. In the first place we shall discuss the international trade of Gujarat, and then the coastal trade and finally the various trading centres. We shall make special attempt to see what were the commodities of import and export as well as the medium of exchange. By way of conclusion we may say something about the nature of the trade and the correlation between trade and urbanisation in Gujarat.

Gujarat held an important position in the international trade especially as a transit trade centre and also a production area of various types of cloths and a few other items. One could distinguish three main branches in the international trade of Gujarat namely, trade with the African coast, trade with the Middle East and finally the trade with the South East Asian countries.

Soffala, Angoche, Melinde, Maguadischu, Guardafui, Mombassa and Suez were some of the important centres on the African coast with which Gujarat had long-standing trade relations. Vasco da Gama on his way to India in 1498 met a few Indian vessels in Melinde,[3] and it was an Arab who showed him the way to Calicut from there. The Gujaratis reached Soffala every year with their commodities loaded in small vessels called *sambuqs* in order to collect ivory, gold and amber to bring them to Gujarat. Great quantity of gold was brought to Soffala from Monomotapa through the interior places. Ivory was available in and around Soffala. These items, namely, gold, ivory and amber were given to the Gujaratis in exchange for the cotton cloths, silk and other sorts of textiles taken from Gujarat to Soffala for barter[4]. It is noted that gold and ivory were given without being weighed and so the Gujarati merchants made great profit out of this trade. Ivory was often sold by the Gujaratis in India for five to six ducats a quintal[5]. In the same way, cotton cloths, silks and several other types of textiles were taken by the Gujaratis to Angoche and on return they brought gold and ivory to India. However, it is to be remembered that this trade with the African coast was carried on by breaking the strict watch kept by the Portuguese on the movements of ships in the Indian Ocean and the *zambuqs* were often used to avoid the Portuguese officials' interference.[6] Both Muslim and Hindu merchants visited Melinde with cloths of all sorts and in exchange they brought to India ivory, gold, copper, quicksilver and other things from Melinde.[7] Mogadischu on the coast of the Red Sea provided the Gujarat merchants with gold, ivory and wax in exchange for the cloths both cotton and silk as well as various sorts of spices.[8] Guardafui at the mouth of the straits of Mecca was another centre frequented by the merchants from Gujarat every year.[9] Cotton and silk cloths from Gujarat especially Diu were taken also to Mombassa on the African coast.[10]

---

[3] *Diario da Viagem de Vasco da Gama*-Fac-simile do Codice original Traducao e Versao em Grafia Actualizada. Livraria Civilisacao Porto, 1945, p. 51

[4] Luciano Ribeiro, "Uma Geografia Quinhentista" in *Studia*, No. 7 Lisbon, Centro de Estudos Historicos Ultramarinos, 1961, 182

[5] Duarte Barbosa, *The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, Hakluyt Society, (Kraus reprint,) Liechtenstein, 1967, p. 8

[6] Luciano Ribeiro, *op. cit*, pp. 184-85

Thus it can be concluded that the chief items of commodities from Gujarat to the African coast were cloths, both cotton and silk and various sorts of spices. Out of these things mostly cotton textiles and cotton were produçed in large quantity in Gujarat and one may say that these were the commodities with which the Gujaratis could earn much, they being the local products. Probably the great quantity of silk must have been brought to Gujarat from China and in this case Gujarat served only as a transit trade centre. Similarly, spices were brought from Malabar coast and south East Asia and the Gujarati merchants appropriated the profit from the exchange of these commodities. On the other hand, Gujarat profited much from the exchange with the ports on the African coasts from where they got gold, ivory, quick silver and copper with which they made good profit. Copper was very well sold in the Indian subcontinent, a quintal fetching more than 22 ducats.[11] Most of the people in the hinterland in Inida cooked rice in big vessels made out of copper.[12] This metal was also in great demand for the coins that were struck in India.[13] From the information we have at our disposal, we find that the medium of exchange in the trade of Gujaratis with the African coast was mostly merchandise and great quantity of bullion was thus brought to India. Another point to be noted is that this trade was conducted inspite of the strict watch kept by the Portuguese on the Indian Ocean and the risk taken by the Gujaratis was really worthwhile and attractive since the exchange in bullion and ivory was very profitable. The attempts of the Gujaratis evading the Portuguese fleet speak aloud for the high profit that accrued to the Gujarati merchant community.

Trade with the ports on the coasts of Red Sea and Persian Gulf was perhaps more important in the matter of variety of commodities and the distance it covered. I mean to say that the commodities exported to these areas reached places that were very far away in comparison with the African branch of the Gujarat trade.

---

[7] *Ibid.*, pp. 187, 223, 230

[8] *Ibid.*, pp. 189, 230

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 189

[10] *Ibid.*, pp. 223, 230

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 232

[12] *Ibid.*

[13] *Ibid.*

Jidda was one of the most important ports on the coast of the Red Sea frequented by the merchants from Gujarat. Several merchants disembarked in Jidda and from there they went to Mocha with their commodities. Various kinds of spices were taken to Jidda and in return the merchants took copper, quicksilver, vermilion, saffron, rosewater, scarlets, velvets, all sorts of woollen cloths, silk, gold and silver. In this trade the Gujarati merchants made much profit so much so that they gained enough even if only one of the several ships a year was saved from the attacks of the Portuguese fleet cruising the Indian Ocean.[14] This trade, though hindered by the Portuguese, did not stop during the sixteenth century.

It was from Jidda that the commodities were transhipped to Suez in small ships called *Zambuqs* since big vessels could not sail in this part of Mocha and Jidda. Big caravans from Cairo and Alexandria used to carry the oriental commodities from Suez to Alexandria and Cairo[15]. The Venetians purchased the spices and other Indian commodities in Cairo and Alexandria and then they transhipped them to Venice. It was from Venice that these commodities found their way to the various parts of Europe. Thus Jidda served as an important entrepôt in the passage of the Indian commodities to Europe as well the other commodities and bullion to India.

Eden was another port where many Gujarati ships arrived every year and conducted great trade. Big Muslim as well as Jewish merchants resided and traded in Eden. The Gujarati merchants took cloths, spices, drugs and cloths of all colours to Eden and the merchants from various parts especially Jidda came to purchase the Indian commodities there. They traded in these items with Arabia and the land of Prester John and made much profit. The merchants from Jidda used to bring great quantity of copper, quick silver, vermilion, coral, woollen cloths and silk to Eden to exchange for the oriental commodities brought by the Gujarati merchants.[16] These commodities found their way to India and the merchants of Gujarat made great profit out of the trade with Eden.

---

[14] Ibid., pp. 196-97

[15] João de Barros, *Decada Primeira da Asia*, part II, Regia Officina Typografica Lisbon, 1778, p. 178

[16] Tome Pires, *The Suma Oriental of Tome Pires*,—an Account of the East, from the Red Sea to Japan, written in Malacca and India in 1512-1515, Vol. I. Hakluyt Society, Kraus Reprint, Liechtenstein, 1967, P. 43.

Sheher on the littoral of Arabia was another port to which the Gujarati merchants took cotton cloths and big pearls in threads of inferior quality, rice, sugar and all sorts of spices[17]. The local merchants at Sheher purchased these things and sold them in the whole of Arabia, and with the money they got thus, they purchased horses which in their turn were sold to the Gujarati merchants who brought them to India and sold them at more than 500 to 600 ducats each[18]. This was a great source of profit for the merchants and there was always high demand for horses in India. Besides horses, the Indian merchants got incense, wheat, dates (*tamaras*), meat and various other fruits to be taken to India. On account of the fact that the vessels of the sixteenth century had to depend on the winds, they had to visit almost by force the port of Sheher in one way or other. Therefore, the trade with Sheher always was rather important for the trade of the Gujarati merchants.

Though the city of Ormuz was not a big one, the port attracted merchants from various parts especially from India in general and from Gujarat in particular. Ginger, cinnamon, cloves, sandalwood, brazilwood, saffron and several other merchandises from India were brought to Ormuz. But. Gujarat had her own commodities to be sold in Ormuz, namely, cotton cloths. The Gujarati merchants used to bring to India Arabian horses available in Ormuz and several other commodities like vermilion, quicksilver, copper, saffron, rose-water and brocades that were brought to Ormuz from Eden. It is calculated that about 600 horses were brought every year to India from Ormuz and each horse was sold at 300 to 400 ducats.[19]

Thus we find that in this second branch of the international trade of Gujarat, the export varied. More of spices and other commodities that were not the local products of Gujarat were included in the export The much-sought-after spices mostly went to the European markets via Cairo and Alexandria and thus Gujarati merchants supplied them to the merchants in the Red Sea area, mainly at Jidda, and had still their share in the profit from the spices. These commodities went through several hands to Europe and therefore the Gujaratis were only one among the intermediaries between the producers and the consumers. However, these commodities traded by the Gujaratis reached a more distant destination than in the former case. But, these being not their local products, had to be purchased from the Malabar coast or South East

---

[17] Luciano Ribeiro, *op. cit.*, p. 203

[18] *Ibid.*

[19] Tome Pires, *op. cit.*, p. 44. These horses brought from Ormuz were sold at 300 to 400 ducats while those purchased from Arabia fetched 500 to 600 ducats and this presumably shows the reason of difference in price of the horses from various places.

Asian countries. Yet, the staple export of Gujarat, namely, cotton continued to be exported in this branch of trade too. On the side of imports, the quantity of gold too decreased and the items were more than what were imported from the African coasts. Here, copper, horses and other Mediterranean products in bulk were included. This again shows a marked difference from the other branch of trade. In both these cases, we find instances of exchange of goods rather than money economy. The position of Gujarat as transit trade centre is more clearly seen in this branch of trade.

Probably to cope up with the requirements of the trade with the ports on the Red Sea area and Persian Gulf, the Gujarati merchants had to develop very active trade relations with the South East Asian countries, which supplied large quantities of spices and offered a good market for the cotton products of Gujarat. Of all the regions in the South East Asian countries with which the Gujaratis had trade relations, the most important was Malacca. Commodities from China, Moluccos, Timor, Banda, Sumatra, Tennasserim, Pegu and many other islands were brought to Malacca and thus Malacca served as the biggest entrepot in the whole of the East[20]. The Gujaratis, especially those from Broach, had a colony of their own in Malacca and there were several rich merchants there[21]. The Chinese junks took the following commodities to Malacca, namely, silk, porcelains, damasks, satin, musk, rhubarb, iron, saltpetre, silver, pearls, seed pearls, and so on. These commodities were exchanged for those brought by the Gujarati merchants to Malacca, namely, pepper, incense, cotton cloths and various other sorts of cloths manufactured in Gujarat, saffron, coral both worked and threaded, painted clothes and white cloths from Gujarat, vermilion, quicksilver, opium, other merchandises from Gujarat, especially catchu (Kachu) and mayricam brought from Mecca via Gujarat[22].

Cloths from Gujarat, copper and copper coins were taken to Moluccos to purchase cloves and bring them to Malacca[23]. Similarly, iron, and cloths were carried to Timor in order to purchase white sandalwood from there[24] Various commodities from Gujarat were taken to Banda to purchase nutmeg and maces from there. Pepper, raw silk and benzoin were brought to Malacca from Sumatra. Camphor, and aloewood were brought to Malacca from various islands in the region. Several commodities were brought to Malacca also from Tennaserim and Pegu. Thus Malacca was the centre from where commodities brought from Gujarat were sent to these various centres and in exchange of

---

20. Luciano Ribeiro, *op. cit.*, p. 293
21. Barros, *op. cit.*, p. 342
22. Luciano Rebeiro,*op. cit.*, p. 292
23. *Ibid.*, p. 293
24. *Ibid.*

which the local merchandises were purchased and brought to Malacca. From there these items were transhipped to Gujarat and the ports on the western coast of India and finally to the African ports as well as to those on the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf.

Moreover, the Gujarati merchants had direct trade relations with most of these ports in the South East Asian regions. Thus, cloths, both silk and cotton, gold, silver, saffron, coral, quicksilver, and vermilion were taken to Ceylon to purchase cinnamon and elephants[25]. Similarly cotton and silk cloths from Gujarat, coral, coppe[illegible]ium, vermilion, quicksilver, rosewater and drugs were sold by the Gujarati merchants in Pegu and in return sealing wax, rubies and musk were purchased by these merchants[26]. Slaves, silver, honey and sandalwood were collected from Timor in exchange for cloths from Gujarat[27]. Nutmeg and maces were exchanged in Banda for the cloths brought by the Gujarati merchants[28] In the same way, Moluccos supplied cloves in return for the cloths, copper, quicksilver and vermilion brought by the Gujaratis[29]. They had trade relations with Borneo and Sumatra too [30]

From the above discussion, it can be concluded that the trade with South East Asian countries was necessary to keep up the one with the ports on the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf and this was inevitable especially because the major part of the trade was a form of exchange of commodities. Therefore gold, silver, ivory and other Mediterranean commodities could be purchased only with the spices and other items needed by the merchants in the Middle East and the Mediterranean areas. Here again the products of Gujarat such as cotton cloths found their acceptance in the South East Asian areas. The trade was mostly of the nature of exchange of commodities in the case of the South East Asian countries. This trade also continued in the early sixteenth century despite the Portuguese control of the Indian Ocean. Till the ports of Daman Diu and Bassein were surrendered to the Portuguese, the trade went on without any serious difficulty.

Gujarat always cherished a flourishing trade with the coastal towns of the Indian subcontinent, which, for the sake of clarity, is named just coastal trade in this paper, to distinguish it from the international coastal trade. Almost all the important trading centres in India were connected with Gujarat. The trade relations with the Malabar coast was the most important in the coastal trade of Gujarat. Several Gujarati settlements were found in the various ports on the Malabar coast[31]. In 1500 when the King of Calicut gave permission to the Portuguese to open a factory there, he appointed the Gujarati merchants to give the foreigners the necessary instructions as to how to conduct trade in India[32]. Similarly, the merchants from Malabar brought their commodities to the various ports in Gujarat namely, Patan, Diu, Goga, Gandhar, Surat, Bassein and so on to exchange these for the commodities of Gujarat. Thus always the trade relations continued to be very strong and this began to dwindle with the tightening of the Portuguese control on the movements of the ships in the Arabian Sea[33]. Though the Portuguese cruised the coast, the trade with Malabar did not disappear on the whole. Either the Portuguese officials themselves who wanted to make some profit in their personal interest, or the Indian merchants smuggled out goods to Gujarat and brought the commodities from Gujarat to Malabar from time to time[34].

---

[25] *Ibid.*, pp, 276-78

[26] *Ibid*,, pp. 277-78

[27] *Ibid.*, p. 298

[28] *Ibid.*, p. 299

[29] *Ibid.*, p. 300

[30] *Ibid.*, p. 228

As usual, cotton cloths, horses, wheat, gingelly oil, and grains were the chief items that were taken to the Malabar coast[35]. Spices, jaugry, coconuts, wax, esmeril, iron, pepper, ginger, cinnamon, nutmegs, sandalwood, brazilwood, areacanuts, sugar and cardamom were brought to Gujarat from Malabar[36]. Thus the Gujarati merchants got what they wanted for their trade with the ports on the Red Sea and the Persian gulf. This sort of exchange was very profitable for the merchants on the Malabar coast as well as those in Gujarat. The trade in spices was always necessary for the maintenance of the Gujarat trade with the middle Eastern ports and the same trade continued down to the present day. The biggest merchants dealing in spices from Malabar today are those from Gujarat. The extant Gujarati colonies on the Malabar coast speak aloud for this fact.

The other ports with which Gujarat had trade relations were Chaul, Dabhol, Goa, Bhatkal and Bengal. Bengal supplied various sorts of pickles (*conservas*) of ginger and oranges, lemon and other fruits to the merchants from Gujarat.[37] Bhatkal provided sugar,[38] Chaul and Dabhul gave a special sort of cloths such as *Beirames* and *Biatilhas* in exchange for the commodities from Gujarat.[39] From the Gujarati merchants cloths, horses, wheat, gingilly, gingilly oil, opium, copper, vermilion and so on were received by the merchants in Goa, Bhatkal, Dabul, Chaul and Bengal [40]. Thus we see that all the important trading centres on the coast of the subcontinent of India were frequented by the Gujarati merchants and the cloths from Gujarat were the main items of export. A few commodities like opium, and *chamalotes* were also produced in Gujarat though much of them were brought to Gujarat from the ports on the Red Sea and Persian Gulf. Moreover, merchandises like copper, quicksilver, and so on were brought from outside and taken to these ports. Thus the coastal trade of Gujarat was essential to secure commodities for overseas trade. The exchange of commodities prevalent in this period necessitated such a coastal trade, and thus Gujarat remained a flourishing transit trade centre. This side of the coastal trade lost its vitality when in the second half of the sixteenth century the Portuguese established their foothold on the coastal towns of Gujarat. However, the coastal trade facing great risks, continued to exist with the help of the Portuguese officials who wanted to make profit even at the cost of the interests of their own country.

---

[31] Duarte Barbosa, *op. cit.*, vol. II. p. 73

[32] Montalbodo, *Paesi Nouvamente retrovati & Nove Mondo da Alberico Vesputio Florentino Intitulato* (Reprint) Princeton, 1916, p. 90

[33] Luciano Ribeiro, *op. cit.*, p. 271

[34] Raymundo Antonio de Bulhão Pato, ed. *Cartas de Affonso de Albuquerque*, tom I, Academia Real das Sciencias de Lisbon, Lisboa, 1884, P. 80

[35] Luciano Ribeiro, *op. cit.*, pp. 222, 223, 225, 226, 228, 229

[36] *Ibid.*

[37] *Ibid.*, p. 284

[38] *Ibid.*, p. 223

There were a number of important trading centres in Gujarat during this period and all of them conducted brisk trade. A few of them may be referred in the following pages.

1. *Patan* :

Situated on the bank of the river, was a center of a great trade and was indeed a rich town. Large quantity of silk cloths which were both painted and embroidered were manufactured here. Cotton cloths too were produced in this area. These commodities had very good market in Malabar, Bengal and other parts of India. Several ships used to come to this port with coconuts, palm sugar and spices from Malabar.[41] In return, the merchants from other parts used to take cloths, cotton, horses and several other items like vegetables from here and made much profit.

2. *Mangrol* (*Manglore*) :

Further on the coast, the port of Mangrol was frequented by several ships from Malabar[42]. Coconuts, arecanuts, wax, liquor, cardamom, emery and various sorts of spices were brought by the merchants from Malabar and they purchased horses, wheat, rice, various sorts of cotton cloths and other merchandises.

---

[39] *Ibid.*, pp. 223-24

[40] *Ibid.*

[41] *Ibid.*

[42] *Ibid.*

3. *Diu* :

It was a great emporium where many ships from Malabar, Bhatkal, Goa, Dabul and Chaul used to come with merchandise. Similarly, a number of ships sailed from here to Aden, Mecca, Zeila, Barbara, Melinde, Mombaza, Sheher, and Ormuz. The merchants from Malabar brought to this port arecanut, coconuts, jaugry, cloves, cinnamon, mace, wax, emery, iron, sugar from Bhatkal, pepper, ginger, nutmeg, sandalwood, brazilwood, long pepper, silk from Malacca and China and various other sorts of spices. Great quantity of linen cloths, and other cloths from Dabul and Chaul were taken to this port. From here these commodities were carried to Arabia and Persia.

In exchange of these commodities, cotton, cotton cloths, horses, wheat, gingilly, gingilly oil, opium, both produced in Gujarat and that brought from Eden, and silk were purchased from here by the merchants Many carpets and taffetas were manufactured here and they were exchanged all over India for spices. This port was the most important centre of trade in Gujarat. Coral, copper, quicksilver, vermilion, lead, alumstone, rhubarb, rosewater, gold, silver coins and silver and so on were brought to Diu from Eden and Mecca.[43] The king of Gujarat had his governor Maliq Ayas stationed here and he used to collect great sum from here by way of customs duties.

4. *Goga* :

It was only a big village in the kingdom of Gujarat situated on the coast of the gulf of Cambay opposite to the town of Cambay. Many ships from Malabar went from here to Eden and Mecca with commodities As in Diu all sorts of merchandises were exchanged here.[44]

5. *Bhavnagar* :

Still further on the gulf of Cambay, after the port of Goga, is the port of Bhavnagar which also is a great center of trade. The king of Gujarat had his governor here too as in other ports for the collection of customs duties. He used to get a huge amount from these places as his revenue. All sorts of merchandises and food materials were found here in great abundance. Trade with various parts of the country as well as abroad was conducted here.[45]

6. *Ghandar* :

This town is situated at the mouth of the small river and was a great center of trade where great varieties of commodities were exchanged. The town of Cambay was situated further on the bank of the river, yet interior, and so several *Zambuqs* from Malabar with arecanuts, coconuts, spices, sugar, cardamom, and all sorts of commodities came to this port.[46] All these merchandises were sold very well here. Cotton, gingelly, wheat, grains, horses, and several other sorts of commodities were purchased by the merchants from here. Since the water could always recede and come up, the navigation to this town was rather dangerous.

---

[43] *Ibid.*, p. 224

[44] *Ibid.*, p. 225

[45] *Ibid.*

7. *Cambay* :

Going farther on in the river after Gandhar, one comes across the famous port of Cambay inhabited by Muslims and Hindus. There were many houses with stones and they were quite tall having windows and covered with tiles an in Portugal. From among Muslims as well as Hindus in this town there were several rich merchants with great investments. There were all sorts of craftsmen and various kinds of handicrafts that were cheap. The town was like Flanders in the matter of trade. Many kinds of cotton cloths, very thin and white as well as painted cloths, coloured silk cloths, velvets of inferior quality, satins, carpets and so on were manufactured here. The local people were almost fair in complexion; the foreigners residing in this town were also quite fair and well polished.

8. *Limadura* (Nimodra) :

After the city of Cambay, going to the interior there is a place called Limodara (Nimodra) where there was a mine in which all sorts of semi-precious stones which were white and brittle were found. They became reddish and fine and later they could be made into big pieces. There were experts in this place who worked on these stones and gave various shapes, namely long, octagonal, round and also the shape of the leaves of olive and so on. The merchants of Cambay went there to purchase these things and put them in cords as beeds and then took them to the Red Sea from where they were taken to Portugal and other European countries as the pepper and other commodities which went to Lisbon in the sixteenth century. Many of these stones were available also in Arabia and the Portuguese took them to India from where they were sent to Portugal. There were stones of other varieties too which the Muslims wore around their waist and their arms because they were said to be of great value for preserving chastity. They were not very costly.

9. *Rander* :

Farther on the coast, down to Ghandar is Rander which was inhabited by Muslims and had very well-built and strong houses and squares. It was a very rich and important place, having trade relations with Malacca, Bengal, Sumatra, Pegu and various parts of India. Several sorts of commodities were exchanged here, namely, spices, drugs, silks, almiscar, benzoin, procelains and other costly merchandises. Those who wanted to see ships from China and Malacca could see them there more frequently than in any other place and those ships were very strong and huge. The Muslims residing in this place were very rich and well-respected. The Hindus who lived in this town were also fair.

---

[46] *Ibid.*, pp. 225-26

10. *Surat* :

The great town of Surat was located on the bank of a river. This was inhabited by Hindus and Muslims and all sorts of commodities were found here. Great trade was conducted here in Surat. Several ships from Malabar and other parts used to come to this place with various merchandises and took the commodities they wanted from here. This was one of the chief ports in Gujarat, and there were several big merchants residing in Surat. The Customs house here provided great sum of revenue to the King of Gujarat.

11. *Danu* :

Further down Surat, on the coast there is another place called Danu which was inhabited by Hindus and Muslims. It had great trade in various sorts of commodities and many ships from Malabar and other places used to come to this port with their merchandises.[47]

12. *Bassein* :

Beyond Danu along the seashore, there is a place inhabited by Hindus and Muslims which was called Bassein. This also belonged to the kingdom of Gujarat and many commodities were traded here. Several ships from various parts used to come to this port, especially many *zambuqs* from the Malabar coast with coconuts, spices and other merchandises with which they made much profit. The merchants from Malabar purchased a few merchandises from here in return for the commodities they brought.

13. *Tana* (Manamanao buque) :

Still further on the coast there was a fortress called Tana and around this there were several Muslims settled down. There were many mosques and temples for Hindus and this place was almost at the border of the Kingdom of Gujarat and was close to the Sea. On account of the pirates who used to rob the ships, the trade was not very considerable.

Commodities available in the kingdom of Gujarat :

Many horses and cotton cloths from Gujarat were taken to other parts of India for sale. Cotton cloths and cotton were also sent to Arabia, Persia, Malacca, Sumatra, Melinde, Mogadishu and Mombassa. A variety of cotton textiles (*cotonias*) was purchased from here for using as sails for the vessels by the merchants. Other commodities exported from Gujarat were : silk, cornelians, Gingilly oil, *Herva Lombringueyra* (a sort of herb), myrrh, spikenard opium, indigo of various quantities and some drugs. Some of these items were very well appreciated in Malacca, and China and were very expensive. There were also wheat in abundance, rice, gingelly and many grains and vegetables. All of these items were exported to various parts of the world. There was also gold in plenty both in the form of coin and bullion in addition to silver. The gold coin which was round in shape and had a few moorish words engraved, was called parafim(sic) or serafim(?). It was equal to 280 *reis* of the Portuguese. The silver coin was called *caraquim* (?) having a value of 60 *reis*.[48]

---

[47] *Ibid.*, p. 229

There was also another denomination of currency with which they conducted trade and it was called *Fedra*. It was nothing other than a name and it was equal to 17 *reis* and sometimes to 14 or 12 *reis* as it differed from place to place. There were also coins of inferior value. The coins of the King of Vijayanagar (Narsinga) were also current in this kingdom and they vere called *pardaoms* equal to 320 *reis*. This coin had a round shape and rather big size with a few moorish inscriptions. It was quite dear and on one side it had figures of a man and a woman. This coin was made in mould. The units of weights for gold, silver and precious stones were *meticals* which were equal to six and a half ounces. The higher units of weights were called *candils* which were more or less four quintals and they differed from place to place. There was also another weight called *Man*. Twenty *mans* made a *candil*.

Nature of trade :

From the above discussion it may be concluded that the trade conducted by the Gujaratis in the early sixteenth century was mostly in the form of barter. Cotton fabrics from Gujarat were taken to all the important trading centres in and out of India. When these commodities alone were not sufficient, they fetched other commodities according to the needs of the various centers. Thus for example, they got copper and other items from the ports on the Red Sea and Persian gulf to supply to the needs of the centers on the west coast of India and Malacca. Similarly, pepper and other spices were collected from the South East Asian countries and the Malabar coast for exchanging with the commodities on the coast of Red Sea and Persian gulf. They brought bullion and ivory from the African coast to supply to the areas in the East to purchase other commodities. We have already seen that they got gold from the African coast even without weighing. Thus it could be said that the trade was mostly in the form of exchange of commodities.

However, it does not mean that coinage was altogether unknown. The Gujarati merchants used to take copper coins to the South East Asian countries to purchase commodities from there as we have already seen. Similarly, in Gujarat itself there were coins besides those brought from outside such as the

---

[48] *Ibid.*, p. 230

Persian Gulf area and Vijayanagar. But, the monetisation of economy did not find realisation owing to various reasons. Thus a sort of economy i.e., combination of barter and money economy was prevalent then.

Another important feature of the trade was that the merchants on their own, without any state intervention, conducted the trade. There was no clarity of prices i.e., the market was not " transparent " and the merchants were liable to a number of unforeseen and uncalculated expenses and exploitations. The Gujarati merchants travelling with their commodities to the African coast had no written agreement regarding the prices of the commodities they sold or purchased. They had to do all this at random, according to the fluctuations in the market. They purchased some items from a certain place and exchanged them with other commodities in another place. Normally, the volume of commodities should not be large and the voyages were not regularly determined. When they had the commodities for sale, they went to the respective centres for sale and purchase. Any moment they could be attacked by the Portuguese and the Asian " Pirates " since no international agreement was concluded to see to their security. So, they were liable to extortions in many ways. However, the trade consisted in long-haul voyages. Gujarat played the role of a big transit trade center. In the light of all this one may qualify the trade in the early sixteenth century Gujarat as a form of peddling trade.

Another important aspect to be noted is that there was no official monopoly for the trade conducted in this period by the Gujaratis. It was a free trade. Till the Portuguese spread their monopolising arm to the areas of Gujarat and Indian Ocean, the Gujaratis could trade with any port of their choice in any commodity they liked. As we have seen above, they were found in all the important ports of the Afro-Asian countries. This sort of a flourishing trade was hindered by the tightening of the Portuguese control and monopoly.

In connection with the trade with the ports on the Red Sea and Persian Gulf, we may say that the Gujaratis were just the agents for the agents of the European merchants such as the Venetians and Genoans and this trade was quite profitable since the Mediterranean commodities were exchanged for the Indian commodities. Thus, even in the matter of reaching the oriental spices to the European markets, the Gujaratis were an important medium. This shows the international importance of the trade of Gujarat.

In the light of the narration of the state of affairs in the various trading centers in Gujarat, we may make some remarks regarding the relationship of external trade with urbanisation and development of a new class of people in these trading centers. Several merchants and financiers came and settled down in these trading centres to expedite their commercial activities. Those merchants who travelled with their commodities to various distant localities established their own small warehouses and residences in these ports. To cater to the needs, more and more financiers too came to these places. As a result the ports began to develop demographically. Seeing the opportunity of getting work in connection with the movements of the commodities in these centres, various people came to these towns and thus their connection with the agrarian life in the hinterland was to a certain extent less frequent. They became more and more liberated from the clutches of the social life in the interior parts of the country. Thus a new class of people came up in these centers. This had important repercussions in the structure of the society in the country.

Side by side with the demographical growth. there took place another important transformation. As we have seen above, bullion and coins were brought to Gujarat, especially to these trading centres. With the liquid money, the buying power of the merchants in these towns grew up and they began to wield great influence on the society and economy. Accumulation of capital in the hands of a few merchants and financiers was a matter of great importance. It paved the way for further changes in the society, and probably demarcation in the social structure. Petty merchant capitalists and a sort of " primitive " proletariat came into existence foreshadowing the oncoming transformation.

Thus, in many ways the external trade of Gujarat paved the way for the urbanisation and accumulation of capital. The cotton products of Gujarat and the importance of the external trade could have brought a great break-through in the society and economy of Gujarat in particular had this rhythm of trade been not hindered by the colonial imperialists, beginning with the Portuguese and culminating in the British imperialism. If Gujarat could wield such an important influence in the international trade in the early sixteenth century and before, it could have gone ahead and remained so in later periods too. But, the story was quite different. Foreign political powers choked the international growth and hindered the multiphased development.

PRĀKRIT DUPPARIALLA

By

HERMAN TIEKEN*

The word *dupparialla* is rare ; it has been found only in the two oldest Māhārāṣṭrī Prākrit (M. Pkt) texts,[1] namely the *Sattasaī*[2] (*gāthā* 122) and the *Setubandha*[3] (IV 26, VI 18 and XIII 79).

Sattasaī 122 reads as follows :

ṇavavahupemmataṇuio paṇaaṁ paḍhamaghariṇīa rakkhaṁto
alihiaduppariallaṁ pi ṇei raṇṇaṁ dhaṇuṁ vāho.

Weber gives the following translation :

> Durch die Liebe zur jungen Frau derb mitgenommen, trägt der Jäger, um die Zuneigung der ersten Frau zu schonen, den Bogen wieder einmal in den Wald (zieht auf die Jagd), obschon er ihn, der nicht gelitten hat (d.i. ungeschwächt, ebenso stark geblieben ist), kaum noch spannen kann.[4]

Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. 34, Nos. 3-4, March-June 1985 issue, pp. 217 to 239.

* Institute Kern, le Binnenvestgracht 33, Leiden (The Netherlands).

[1] According to H. D. Sheth, *Pāiasaddamahaṇṇavo*, Varanasi, 1963, p. 471*a*. For the occurrence of *dupparialla* in the *Pāiyalacchī* and the *Deśīnāmamālā*, see p. 14.

[2] Weber, A. *Ueber das Saptaśatakam des Hāla*, *AKM* 7, 4, Leipzig, 1881. Weber's other publications on the subject are : *Ueber das Saptaśatakam des Hāla, Ein Beitrag zur Kenntniss des Prākrit*, *AKM* 5, 3, Leipzig, 1870 (henceforth *Abh.*, from Abhandlung), " Zum Saptaśatakam des Hāla ", *ZDMG* 28, 1874, pp. 345-436 (henceforth *Retr.*, from Retractatio), and *Ueber Bhuvanapāla's Commentar zu Hāla's Saptaśatakam*, *Indische Studien* XVI, Leipzig, 1883, pp 1-204 (henceforth *Bhuv.*, from Bhuvanapāla).

[3] S. and P. Goldschmidt, *Rāvaṇavaha oder Setubandha*, Strassburg, 1880 (text) and 1884 (German translation).

[4] " Strongly seized with love for his young wife the hunter, in order to spare the feelings of his first wife, again carries his bow into the forest (goes out to hunt), though he was hardly able to draw it as it was unplaned (i.e. not made less stiff, was as stiff as before). "

It is to be noted that this translation, which is found in *Abh.*, p. 113, was based on a text which differs from the present one — and especially in the third

Before discussing the meaning of the word *dupparialla*, the situation depicted in the *gāthā* may be considered. In the *Sattasaī* a number of *gāthās* are found which describe the hunter (*vāha*, Skt *vyādha*). They hint at the impossibility for him to be at the same time a good lover and a good hunter. Either his love has made him too sentimental to be able to kill animals, especially deer (see, for instance, 620 and 631), or the love-making itself has exhausted him so much that he is no longer able to draw his bow. In order to be able to draw his bow again the hunter has to make it thinner by planing it (see, for instance, 119 and 120).[5] The present *gāthā* seems to refer to this practice of

---

pāda, which reads *aṇicciadurākāsaṁ*. The latter reading was reconstructed by Weber on the basis of Kulanātha's cty, as in the then only available Ms (K) the Pkt text for this *gāthā* was missing. Though the text was later changed on the basis of other Mss, Weber did not adapt the translation which he apparently still found adequate.

[5] *Gāthā* 119 reads :

ajja kaimo vi diaho vāhavahū rūvajovvaṇummattā
sohaggaṁ dhaṇuruṁpacchaleṇa racchāsu vikk(h)irai.

The how-manieth day is it today that the hunter's wife, intoxicated by her beauty and youth, scatters her happiness about the streets in the form of shavings of (her husband's) bow (*dhaṇuruṁpacchaleṇa*) ?

Gāthā 120 reads :

ukkhippai maṁḍalimārueṇa gehaṁgaṇāhi vāhīe
sohaggadhaavaḍāa vva uvaha dhaṇuruṁparimcholī.

Look at that ! From the courtyard of the hunter's house a whirlwind throws up a line of shavings from his bow (*dhaṇuruṁpariṁcholī*) which looks like a banner advertising his wife's conjugal happiness.

For the word *ruṁpa* two variants occur, namely *raṁpa* (see *Retr.*, p. 378 and and 379, Ms S) and *raṁbha* (see *Abh.* = Ms K, p. 111 and 112). In the various ctys the word is generally translated with " a thin shaving " or " wood-dust " ; e.g. Gaṅgādhara : *takṣaṇaprabhavasūkṣmatvag*, and T (an anonymous cty) : (*ro-*) *ruṁpaśabdaḥ deśī dhanurdāṁḍakaṣaṇajātakāṣṭhaśakaleṣu vartate* (*Retr.*, *loc, cit.*). The words *ruṁpa*, *raṁpa* and *raṁbha* seem to be related to the verbs *raṁpa-* and *raṁpha-* mentioned in Hemacandra IV 193 as *ādeśa*s for Skṭ *takṣ-* " to plane ". For NIA derivatives of these words, see *CDIAL* 811 and 10629-30. For a description of the situations depicted in the two *gāthās*, see Weber's remarks in *Retr.*, *loc. cit.* Another verb for " planing " would according to Weber be *kaṁḍa-* occurring in 665 :

kaṁḍaṁteṇa akaṁḍaṁ pallīmajjhammi viaḍakoaṁḍaṁ
paimaraṇāhi vi ahiaṁ vāheṇa ruāviā attā.

planing the bow; the word *alihia* ((Skt *alikhita*) would mean " not (yet) made thinner (, i.e. by scraping off some material)[6].

Weber : (Dém hat's meine Tochter ordentlich angethan !)

> Als der Jäger ohne (sonstigen) Grund (*akaṁḍaṁ*) mitten im Dorfe den gewaltigen Bogen dünner schabte (*kaṁḍaṁteṇa*), fing die Schwiegermutter zu weinen an, noch heftiger als beim Tode ihres Gatten. (When the hunter was planing his large bow in the middle of the village for no apparent reason (*akaṁḍaṁ*) the mother-in-law started to cry, more vehemently than on the occasion of her husband's death.)

In translating *kaṁḍaṁteṇa* with " planing " Weber seems to have followed Gaṅgādhara, who translates it with *kaṁḍūyatā takṣaṇena sūkṣmaṁ kṛṇvatā*. *Kaṁḍaṁteṇa*, though, can only go back to Skt. *kaṇḍay-*, which means " to pound grain (in order to remove the husk) ". This meaning does not seem to make sense here. In this connection it is to be noted that for *kaṁḍaṁteṇa* in Mss S and T a variaut *kaḍḍhaṁteṇa* " dragging " occurs. Together with *akaṁḍaṁ* " without arrows " (cf. Weber's " ohne (sonstigen) Grund ") this would give the following translation :

> The hunter who in the middle of the village (i.e. for everybody to see) dragged along his large bow but without arrows, made (my) mother-in-law cry, louder even than on the death of her husband.

The woman speaking is most likely the hunter's wife, the *attā* his mother. The mother-in-law cries because now that her son has lost his capacity to draw his bow, she fears that the family will become poor again, having lost its breadwinner. In this respect the present situation is as bad as when her husband had died.

[6] Kulanātha : *aniścitam atanūkṛtaṁ*. There are found two—unmetrical—variant readings : *ahilihia* (Ψ, B) and *āli ı* (S), which both have been glossed with *tanūkṛta* (see Gaṅgādhara, B and Sādhāraṇadeva). Cf. π *abhilikhita* and ξ *abhilaṣita* (ξ² *abhiliṣita* ; with " ṣ " for " kh "). The meaning *liha-* (Skt. *likh-*) has here is peculiar. Usually it means " to make scratches *in* (some material) " and thus " to inscribe, to write ". Here it refers, instead, to the action of scraping *off* thin pieces of wood. The relation between the former meanings and the latter one, assumed here, is not quite clear. It may be noted, though, that making scratches in a certain object involves in any case also the removal of some of its outer material For *alihia* " not made thinner (by scratching off material) ", see *Deśīnāmamālā* VII 28 : *lihio tanusaiesuṁ*, " *lihia* in the meanings ' thin ' and ' *saia* ' ". Note that Pischel in his index translates *lihia* with " body " (*tanu*) ! In his own cty to this verse Hemacandra translates *saia* with *supta* ' having slept ", thus equating *saia* with Skt. *śayita*. It may be investigated if *saia* should not have a different meaning and derivation here.

By translating *dupparialla* with " (obschon) or ihn.... kaum noch spannen kann ", i.e. " difficult to draw ", Weber has literally followed the Skt commentaries (ctys) to this *gāthā* : Kulanātha, π, ξ (two anonymous ctys), Gaṅgādhara and Sādhāraṇadeva have *durākarṣam*, T (another anonymous cty) has *duḥkhākārṣam*, Pītāmbara has *duḥparikarṣaṇīyam*, and, finally, Bhuvanapāla has *ākuṣṭum* (or : *ākraṣṭum*) *aśakyaṁ*, in which *ākuṣṭum* or : *ākraṣṭum*) probably stands for the infinitive of *ākṛṣ-* " to draw ".[7] This meaning " difficult to draw ", though, makes sense only in the context of the present *gāthā*, in each of the three other instances of *dupparialla* it being very unlikely. For instance, in *Setubandha* IV 26, which will be discussed in full below on p. 4 ff, the word occurs in a description of a sea ; referring to a sea as being " difficult to draw " clearly makes no sense. The meaning " difficult to draw ", found in the ctys and consequently adopted by Weber, seems therefore to have been invented *ad hoc*, the original meaning of *dupparialla* being unknown.

The question now arises what meaning *duparialla* might have here. In this connection I should like to draw attention to two variant readings for *dupparialla*ṁ, namely *dupparigejhjhaṁ* in γ and *ḍupparigajjaṁ* in P.[8] Both words seem to go back to Skt *duṣparigṛhya*.[9] The verb *parigrah-* has, among others, the following meanings : "to hold on both sides, to embrace, to envelop, to seize, to grasp". From these meanings it seems that the action of holding is performed either with the arms or the hands. However, the present context seems to suggest for *duṣparigṛhya* a meaning "difficult to hold ((*scil.* with the hand(s))". It is to be noted that usually a bow is as thick as the hunter can possibly handle, for the thicker the bow, the greater the killing-power of the arrows shot with it. In the *gāthā* under discussion the hunter has not yet made his bow thinner in order to adapt it to his decreased strength ; the bow is still as difficult to hold with the hands, i.e. as thick, as it was before his second marriage The *gāthā* should therefore be translated in the following way :

---

[7] Kulanātha has been quoted in *Abh.*, p. 113, Pitāmbara, Sādhāraṇadeva, Gaṅgādhara and T in *Retr.*, p. 379-80, π and ξ in Weber's edition of 1881, p. 44, and Bhuvanapāla, in *Bhuv.*, p. 65. Bhuvanapāla, furthermore, has *dupparialla*m *aśakyaṁ*, which probably is a quotation from the *Pāiyalacchī* (see below). As far as I have been able to find out there is no reliable date for any of these ctys. More importantly, there exists no stemma determining the relations between the different ctys (except in the case of π and ξ, which are two versions of the same cty). Weber tried to establish these relations but came no further than to suggest that a common but unknown source must occasionally have been used (see esp. p. XXXIII). The same is in fact also the case with the ctys written upon the *Setubandha* (see note 28).

[8] *Dupparialla*ṁ is found in the Mss Ψ, R, Bh and B. Beside the two variant readings in γ and P just mentioned, in S a variant *duppariaḍḍhaṁ* occurs (influenced by the supposed meaning " difficult to draw ") and in T *dukkhāallaṁ*, the first element of which goes back to Skt *duḥkha*, while the last part, *āalla* is unclear. For a description of these Mss, their provenance, possible date, type of script used etc., see Weber's respective publications mentioned in note 2. Unfortunately there exists no stemma for these Mss. Ms γ, no. 420 of the Wilson collection in the Bodleyan Library, contains the text of the so-called *Vulgata*, edited by Weber in his edition of 1881. It is written in Devanāgarī but has features which show that it has been copied from an original Ms in a South-Indian script (see Weber, *op.cit.*, *gāthā* 2, note). Ms P is a collation made by R. Pischel from Ms 2796 in the collection of the India Office Library. This

> Emaciated on account of his love for his new wife but wishing to spare the feelings of his first one, the hunter took his bow into the forest though it was unplaned and (still) difficult to hold with the hands.[10]

---

original Ms is written in the Telugu-script. The order of the *gāthās* in P is generally that of the *Vulgata*. The South-Indian origin of γ and P may explain why they agree here, against all other Mss, in having *dupparigejhjhaṁ* and *ḍupparigajjaṁ* respectively.

[9] Weber seems to derive them from *duṣparigrāhya*. *Parigrāhya*, however, regularly develops into *pariggajjha*. To account for the *-e-* in *dupparigejhjhaṁ* in γ he refers to Hemacandra I 78 : *ed grāhye*, i.e. *gejjha*. For instances of *gejjha*, see Pischel, Hemacandra, Uebersetzung, p. 24. It seems uncertain if *gejjha* must indeed in all cases be derived from *grāhya* instead of from *gṛhya*.. Compare in this connection the occurrence of *-e-* (though *-i-* from *-ṛ-*) in Pkt. *geṇhai* (see H. Berger, *Zwei Probleme der Mittelindische Lautlehre*, Munchen, 1955, p. 62). In the particular case of γ, ° *gejhjhaṁ*, which does not go back to *grāhya* but to *gṛhya*, may simply be a variant reading of ° *gaj(h)jhaṁ*, based on the South-Indian palatalised pronunciation of *a* as *e* (see K. Goda Varma, "The Change of 'a' to 'e' in the Indo-Aryan Loanwords of Malayāḷam", BSOS VIII, pp. 554-62). For South-Indian features in Ms γ, see Weber, *op. cit.*, *gāthā* 2, notes.

[10] The word *duṣparigṛhya* possibly allows yet another interpretation. In the meaning "difficult to embrace (*scil.* with the arms)" or "difficult to hold on both sides" it may refer to the fact that the bow in question is so long that it is impossible to reach with both hands its extreme ends. In this connection it is to be noted that the thickness of a bow is probably to a large extent determined by its length : the longer it is the thicker it can be. The ideal bow would then be as long and as thick as possible. *Alihiaduppariallaṁ pi* may consequently be translated with "though it (i.e. the bow) was unplaned and difficult to encompass (i.e. long)". However, it is not clear in what respect the length of the

In what follows I should like to investigate if the meaning "difficult to hold", which has been based on the two variants *dupparigejhjhaṁ* and *ḍupparigajjaṁ* and which seems to make good sense here, also fits in the other instances of *duppariall*a, namely in *Setubandha* IV 26, VI 18 and XIII 78. Before going on, a few more words should be said about these variants and their meaning. As it is unlikely that *dupparigejhjhaṁ* and *ḍupparigajjaṁ* are corruptions of *duppariallaṁ* it follows that they are secondary alterations, in which case they may be mere guesses devised *ad hoc* for an unknown word *dupparialla*. On the other hand it is also possible that the form *duṣparigṛhya* underlying these variants represents an old and well-founded gloss, which has been entered into the text as a substitute for *dupparialla*. In what follows the variants are in the first instance taken as mere guesses. Their meaning will be tested in the other contexts. If the meaning "difficult to hold" also fits in those contexts, and makes sense there it could be considered a possible meaning of *dupparialla*. In what follows I should, moreover, like to try to find out if more traditional evidence is available for this meaning. This should give us insight into the problem of whether the person who for the first time introduced the word *duṣparigṛhya* could have known the meaning of the word *dupparialla* or was for its meaning completely left to his own devices.

Setubandha IV 26 reads as follows :

kīṁ uṇa duppariallā majjāāikkamuppahavalijjaṁtā
uahī vva sāragaruā ghaḍiā vi visaṁghaḍaṁti kajjālāvā.

S. Goldschmidt gives the following translation :

Aber (*kiṁ uṇa*) selbst wohlgefügte (*ghaḍiā vi*) Verabredungen (*kajjālāvā*), die durch ihren Zweck wichtig sind (*sāragaruā*), werden undurchführbar (*duppariallā*) und zu nichte (*visaṁghaḍaṁti*), wenn sie durch Ueberschreiten der Grenze auf schlechtem Wege einhergeführt werden (*majjāāikkamuppahavalijjaṁtā*), wie die, obgleich (sonst) in ihren Schranken bleibenden (*ghaḍiā vi*), durch ihren Inhalt gewichtigen (*sāragaruā*) Meere (*uahi vva*), wenn sie, ihre Ufer überschreitend, ausser ihrer Bahn

---

bow hinders the hunter in the present circumstances. It is furthermore not the length which is changed when the hunter becomes weaker, but its thickness, which is directly related to its flexibility. As such the length of the bow does not seem to furnish, besides *alihia*, a reason for the hunter to leave it at home. Therefore the interpretation given above in the text should, in my opinion, be preferred. Compare the present meaning of *duṣparigṛhya* with that of *duggejjha* (*duḥgrāhya* or *duḥgṛhya*) in *Setubandha* I 3 : *pīṇattaṇa-duggejjhaṁ jassa* · · · *kaṇṭhaṁ* "whose neck was difficult to hold (with the arms or the hands) because of its thickness".

dahinströmen (*majjāāikkamuppahavalijjaṁtā*), schlecht zum Baden werden (*dupparialla̅*) und sich auflösen (*visaṁghaḍaṁti*).[11]

At the outset it should be noted that the meaning " difficult to draw ", which Weber assumed *dupparialla* to have in the case of *Sattasaī* 122 (see above, p. 1), does not seem to make sense here at all and can be ruled out altogether. In translating *dupparialla̅* with " undurchführbar " on the one hand, and with the phrase " wenn sie . . schlecht zum Baden werden ", on the other, Goldschmidt follows the commentator Rāmadāsa who has *duṣparikalanīyāḥ . . itthaṁkartavyatayā duravadhāraṇīyā vā* " (*dupparialla*) means ' *duṣparikalanīya* ' . . or ' from which (i.e. the words) it is difficult to ascertain what is to be done ' " (the quotation is from Handiqui[12]) and *duravagāhanīyāḥ* " difficult to bathe in ", respectively. In the other two instances of *dupparialla* Goldschmidt again closely follows a particular commentator. This is in itself not an illegitimate procedure but it resulted in this case in some widely divergent translations. For instance, in both IV 26 and VI 18 *dupparialla* occurs in a description of a sea. In IV 26, as has been shown above, it has been translated with the phrase " wenn sie . . schlecht zum Baden werden " and in VI 18, on the other hand, with " schwer überschreitbar " (cf. Kṛṣṇavipra's *duṣparikalanīye dustaraṇīye*). Bathing in and crossing, though, are different actions. Taken literally these translations do not seem to be mutually interchangeable. Goldschmidt tried to bring these various translations for *dupparialla* together under a common denominator, for which he suggested " womit man schwer fertig wird ",[13] i.e. " which it is difficult to deal with ". The ways in which the objects mentioned are " difficult to deal with " could in each instance vary : a sea, for instance, is in one instance

---

[11] But (*kiṁ uṇa*) even well-made (*ghaḍiā vi*) business-agreements (*kajjālāvā*), which are important because of their purpose (*sāragaruā*), become difficult to execute (*dupparialla̅*) and fall apart (*visaṁghaḍaṁti*) when by transgressing their limits they are drawn towards wrong paths (*majjāāikkaumppahavalijjaṁtā*) like seas, heavy by their contents (*sāragaruā*), though (otherwise) remaining inside their boundaries (*ghaḍiā vi*), which become difficult to bathe in (*dupparialla̅*) and fall apart (*visaṁghaḍaṁti*), when they go beyond their banks, streaming into places where they do not belong (*majjāāikkamuppahavalijjaṁtā*).

[12] Handiqui, K. K. *Pravarasena's Setubandha*, Ahmedabad-Varanasi, 1976. In what follows the book is referred to as Handiqui. References are to chapter and verse, which correspond to those in Goldschmidt's edition. It is impossible to give page-references, for after p. 331 the page-numbering starts all over again, the first part of the book having been printed in Madras and the second part in Ahmedabad.

[13] *Setubandha*, pp. 307-8, note.

(IV 26) difficult to bathe in, and in another (VI 18) difficult to cross, and a bow is difficult to draw (*Sattasaī* 122).

It doesn't seem easy to argue that Goldschmidt's meaning of *dupparialla* is necessarily wrong. One may, on the other hand, disagree with the way in which he approached the problem regarding the meaning of *dupparialla*. Instead of bringing together under a common denominator the different, and in some cases incompatible, meanings found in the ctys, one might try to find out if *dupparialla* does not involve *one* particular action, which is difficult to perform equally with regard to all the objects concerned. Or to put it differently, if, for instance, a certain bow and a certain sea have anything in common that they are *dupparialla* and if so, what they have in common.

However, before considering the meaning of *dupparialla* in *Setubandha* IV 26, several remarks should be made on Goldschmidt's translation. The first remark concerns his translation of *kiṁ uṇa* with "aber" ("but"). In doing so he follows the commentator Rāmadāsa, who glosses *kiṁ uṇa* with *kiṁ tu*. The same has been done by Kṛṣṇavipra and Mādhavayajvamiśra (see Handiqui). This "but" connects the verse with the one immediately preceding, in which Jāmbavān praises Sugrīva for being the animator of the monkey-army (for the text and translation of verse 25, see below, p. 228. Verse 26 then contains a kind of warning that, however strong and mighty Sugrīva may be, he will discover that he is not all-powerful. See in this connection the sentence with which Kṛṣṇavipra sums up the verse : *tasmāt bhavataiva kevalena saṁraṁbho na kārya ityabhiprāyaḥ* (see Handiqui). *kiṁ uṇa* (Skt *kiṁ punar*), however, means "how much more" or "how much less". As far as I have been able to find out, there are no other cases in either Skt, Pāli or Pkt in which the phrase means "but".[14] This seems to point to the conclusion that the gloss *kiṁ tu* was introduced here because neither of the meanings of *kiṁ uṇa*, i.e. "how much more" or "how much less", could be fitted in.

The second remark concerns Goldschmidt's solution of the syntax of the verse. In his interpretation the verse has two predicates, namely *dupariallā* and *visaṁghaḍaṁti*. A word meaning "and" has consequently to be understood between these two words. However, this absence of a word denoting

---

[14] For Skt *kiṁ punar* Monier-Williams (MW) does give the meanings "however" and "but" from the *Balarāmāyaṇa*, a play by Rājaśekhara (end 9th century). No places are given, so that I have not been able to check the instances. It is to be noted that these meanings are completely ignored by the other dictionaries and by those scholars writing on Skt syntax (for the latter, see note 21). It may therefore be asked if it is not simply a misunderstanding or a mistake on the part of MW.

" and " between the two predicates is very awkward, so that one might wonder if the syntax of the verse should not be solved in a different way.

A third remark concerns Goldschmidt's interpretation of certain words. Some of these are clear. Thus, *majjāāikkamuppahavalijjaṁtā* seems to mean " entering upon sidetracks by going beyond their proper subjects " when taken with *kajjālāvā*. The latter word, though, does not seem to mean " Verabredungen " but " negotiations regarding a bussiness-deal " or " talks of traders ".[15] When taken with *uahī*, *majjāāikkamuppahavalijjaṁtā* seems to have the meaning " entering into places where they do not belong by going beyond their shores ". *Visaṁghaḍaṁti*[16] means " they become incoherent " on the one hand, and " they cannot be contained " on the other. The ppp. *ghaḍiā* denotes the opposite idea. Goldschmidt's translation of *sāragaruā* with " die durch ihren Zweck wichtig sind " is a literal translation of Kṛṣṇavipra's *sāraguravaḥ sāraḥ sādhyavastu tena guravaḥ*. It is, however, doubtful if *sāra* can indeed have the meanings " aim, purpose " (" Zweck "). In the *Setubandha* the compound *sāragarua* occurs several times, among which twice in connection with " words " (*vaaṇa*) : III 2 and IV 45. In the former instance Goldschmidt translates *sāragarua* with " (die Rede) die durch ihr Mark (*sara*) noch gewichtiger war als . . . . " ((words) which because of their contents (*sāra*) were even more important than . . . .) ; in the latter with " (eine) an Inhalt (*sāra*) gewichtige (Rede) " ((words), important because of their contents (*sāra*)). It is doubtful, though, if Goldschmidt even in these two cases has hit upon the right meaning, for the word *sāra* does not denote simply " contents " ; it denotes what, inside an object, is strong or hard. I should therefore like to take *sāra* here in the meaning " essence heart of the matter.[17] For *sāragarua* this would give the following translation : " (words) which are important (*garua*) by the essence ". For *garua* there seems, however, to exist another possible translation. In Pāli the words *garu* and *garuka* have, among others, the following meanings : " bent on pursuing, fostering, attaching importance to. "[18] The general idea expressed by *garu(ka)* here seems to be that of being singularly devoted to something (in a negative or positive sense) so as not to be able to let it go. *Sāragarua* may then perhaps be translated as follows : mainly dealing with the heart of the matter ". In the case of III 2 and IV 45 this meaning is to be preferred above " important by the essence ". In connection with a person's words the latter qualification does not seem to be wholly flattering, while in III 2 and IV 45 a compliment is certainly intended. A further point in favour of the meaning " mainly dealing with the heart of the matter " in III 2 and IV 45 is the fact that this qualification of a speaker's words is in these instances directly connected with his steadfastness (*dhīra*), i.e. he does not let himself be dragged into telling trivial details..[19] In the verse under discussion I should like to propose for *sāragarua* the same translation. When taken with the word *uahī*, *sāragārua* may have the meaning "heavy with valuable objects". As such it furnishes a standard description of the sea[20]

---

[15] Compare the occurrence of this word in *Sattasaī* 619 where it seems to refer to the process of bargaining ;

kiṁ bhaṇaha maṁ sahīo mā mara dīsahai so jiaṁtīe
kajjālāo eso siṇehamaggo uṇa ṇa hoi.

Why, friends, do you say to me : do not die; if you stay alive you will see him again. This is how traders talk but not the way things go in love.

[16] In Skt. the verb *ghaṭ-* does not seem to occur with a combination of the preposition *vi-* and *saṁ-*. For Pkt. the existance of *visaṁghaḍa-* has been amply attested. See, for instance, *Sattasaī* 115 and *Setubandha* V 78. See also what will be said below (p. 9) on IV 24.

[17] Cf. PW., s. *sāra* " Hauptsache, Quintessenz " (main point, quintessence).

---

[18] See T. W. Rhys Davids and W. Stede, *The Pāli Text Society Pāli-English Dictionary*, London, 1972, p. 246.

[19] The complete text of III 2 reads as follows :

āhāsai suggīo ṇiaaravāhi phuḍaṇintajasaṇigghosaṁ
dhīrāhi sāragaruaṁ dantujjoāhi ṇimmalatthaṁ vaaṇaṁ

Da sprach Sugrīva eine Rede, deren Ruhmesklang noch lauter tönte als seine Stimme, die durch ihr Mark (*sāra*) noch gewichtiger was (*garua*) als sein fester Charakter, und deren Sinn noch heller war als der Glanz seiner Zähne.

(Then Sugriva spoke words, of which the fame-spreading sound was even louder than his voice, which because of their contents were even more important than his steadfastness, and of which the meaning was even clearer than the brightness of his teeth.)

Goldschmidt's translation is peculiar in that *ravāhi*, *dhīrāhi* and *ujjoāhi* are taken as *ablativi comparationis*. The correctness of this interpretation may be doubted, lacking the camparative form of an adjective. Moreover, Goldschmidt does not translate the word *ṇiaa* in *ṇiaaravāhi* Instead, I should like to suggest for the verse the following tentative translation :

Sugrīva spoke the following words (? which proclaimed his fame (and) which appeared clearly from his very own voice ?) which mainly dealt with the heart of the matter (*sāragaruaṁ*) because of his steadfastness, (and) of which the meaning was without any blemish because of the lustre of his teeth.

The complete text of IV 45 reads :

dhīrāhi sāragaruaṁ alaṅghaṇijjāhi sāsaajasujjoaṁ
ricchāhivāhi vaaṇaṁ raaṇaṁ raaṇāarāht va samucchaliaṁ.

To return to *kiṁ uṇa* and the syntax of the verse : *kiṁ uṇa* in the sense of "how much more" or "how much less" introduces the so-called *argumentum a fortiori*. As such it can never head an independent and complete sentence. The predicate must always be supplied from the preceding sentence. *Kiṁ uṇa* is in fact only followed by substantives, adjectives, participles or adverbs[21]. as can be seen, though, verse 26 contains a predicate : *visaṁghaḍaṁti*. It may therefore be concluded that the verse as a whole cannot be dependent upon *kiṁ uṇa*. This, in turn, seems to indicate that the verse has to be divided into two parts, the dividing line between which must in all likelihood be looked for at the end of the first hemistich. Thus one gets a clause introduced by *kiṁ uṇa* and a sentence with a predicate *visaṁghaḍaṁti* :

> *kiṁ uṇa duppariallā majjāāikkamuppahavali·jaṁtā*,

which for the moment may be translated as follows :

> How much more (or less) so when they are *duppariallā* as they enter into places where they do not belong by going beyond their boundaries

---

> Aus dem (Munde des) beständigen (*dhīrāhi*), nicht zu verachtenden Bärenherrn ist eine an Inhalt gewichtige (*sāragaruaṁ*), unvergänglichen Ruhmesglanz habende Rede vorgebracht worden, wie aus dem (beständigen etc.) Ocean eine (durch ihren Wert gewichtige etc.) Perle.

(From the (mouth of the) steadfast (*dhīrāhi*) lord of the bears, who could not be despised, a word came forth, important because of its contents (*sāragaruaṁ*), eternally spreading fame, as from the ocean a pearl came forth .) Instead I should like to suggest the following—partial—translation :

> A speech sprang from the bear-king, a speech which mainly dealt with the hearth of the matter as it came from a steadfast (possible also : wise) person, and which was shining with eternal fame as it came from a person who was unconquerable; a speech like a pearl from the sea, which, etc.

[20] Cf. *sāragaruā* in *Setubandha* II 1.

[21] The meaning of *Kiṁ uṇa* or *Kiṁ punar* has been discussed by J. S, Speyer in *Sanskrit Syntax*. Leiden, 1886, par.442⁴, and in *Vedische und Sanskrit-Syntax*, Strassburg, 1896, par. 264. An example of *kiṁ punar*, quoted in the first-mentioned book, is *nanu tvāṁ . . vanadevatā api na drakṣyanti kiṁ punar martyāḥ* "not even to the deities of the forest you will be visible, how much more (? Speyer's translation) to men ?" Another example, from the second book, with *kiṁ u*, a synonymous construction of *kiṁ punar*, is : *ékasminn éva paśáv ādīyamāné' priyaṁ bhavati kiṁ u bahuṣu*.

(or, the other way around : when, because they are *duppariallā*, they enter into. .).

uahi vva sāragaruā ghaḍiā vi visaṁghaḍaṁti kajjālāvā,

of which a translation is

> Talks of traders, though they have been coherent, mainly dealing with the heart of the matter become incoherent, like seas (which, though they have been shut in, being heavy with valuables, disperse in all directions).

By its very nature a clause beginning with *kiṁ uṇa* always follows the sentence to which it furnishes the *argumentum a fortiori*. In order to find out the sentence to which the first hemistich of 26 (26^{ab}) belongs, one has to turn in the first place to the preceding verses and in particular to 25 which reads as follows :

tujjha bhuāsu ṇisaṇṇo harisattho pabbalo surāṇa vi samare
māruaладdhatthāmo ovaggai mahirao vi tā diasaaraṁ

A translation may be the following :

> Relying on your arms the monkey-army, being among the gods, is very strong in battle; receiving its strength from the wind, even the dust of the earth obscures the sun.[22]

It seems impossible to link 26^{ab} to the first hemistich of 25. If one links it to *harisattho* a grammatical problem arises, *harisattho* being singular and *duppariallā* and °*valijjaṁtā* plural. In the second place the combination would make no sense, for the host of the monkeys is not likely to become still stronger " when it enters into places where it does not belong etc. " If one tries to link 26^{ab} to *tujjha*, *bhuāsu* or *surāṇa*, again a grammatical problem arises in that *duppariallā* and °*valijjaṁtā* do not agree in case with any of these three words. It seems likewise not possible to link 26^{ab} to the second hemistich of 25. One may, alternatively, try to find out if 26^{ab} can be linked to verse 24 (for the full text of which see below, p. 229. This, however, doesn't seem possible either. Grammatically *duppariallā* and °*valijjaṁtā* could only be linked to the subject of the sentence, which is the second person plural in *mā avamaṇṇaha* " do not despise ". This combination makes no sense. Going back further, even upto 20 with which Jāmbavān begins his speech, doesn't yield any result either.

---

[22] Goldschmidt links *surāṇaṁ* to *samare* : " . . . . ist das Affenheer tüchtig selbst zum Kampf mit Götter " (. . . the monkey-army is strong even in the war against the gods). *Samara* " battle against ", however, is constructed with the instrumental with or without *saha*. There seem to be two alternative solutions. The first is to link *surāṇa* to *pabbalo* : " in battle the army of (only) monkeys is (too) strong for the gods ". The monkeys, however, do not fight against the gods, but with them. This suggests a second possibility, which consists of assuming a word *majjhe* (*madhye*) after *surāṇa*. This interpretation has been adopted in the translation given in the text.

How then does 26^{ab} fits in the context ? It may be noted that in the above attempts to link the clause *kiṁ uṇa....* little attention has been given to the second hemistich of the verse. This seems to have no relation at all with the surrounding verses. In order to remedy this situation I should in the first place like to change the order of the hemistiches of 26 :

uahi vva sāragaruā ghaḍiā vi visaṁghaḍaṁti kajjālāvā
kiṁ uṇa duppariallā māјjāāikkamuppahavalijjaṁtā,

of which the following is a partial and temporary translation :

> The talks of traders, even when they have been coherent mainly dealing with the heart of the matter....become incoherent ; how much more so when they are *duppariallā* entering upon sidetracks by going beyond their proper subjects ?

It is difficult to see how this verse as a whole relates to the one preceding it, namely 25 (for the text of which, see above). I should, on the other hand, like to point out the close relation which possibly exists between 26 and 24. In Goldschmidt's edition the latter verse reads as follows :

aṇuhūamuṇeavve vihaḍiavisamakkhare vi saṁghaḍiatthe
jovvaṇamūḍhapahasie mā avamaṇṇaha jarāpariṇaullave.

He gives the following translation :

> Verachtet nicht die Reden eines vom Alter gebeugten, die man erst erkennen kann, nachdem man sie erprobt hat, die zwar undeutlichen und hässlichen Laut, aber wohlgefügten Sinn haben und nur von jugendlichen Toren verlacht werden.[23]

Pāda b of this verse, however, can equally well be read as *vihaḍiavisamakkhare visaṁghaḍiatthe*,[24] which changes the meaning of the verse quite radically. A translation may be the following :

> Do not despise the words of one bent down by old age, which can be understood by one who is experienced,[25] of which the syllables are broken

---

[23] Do not despise the words of one bent by old age, which can be discerned only after they have been experienced, which, though having an indistinct and unpleasant sound, have a well-construed contents and are laughed at only by young people.

[24] Cf. Mādhavayajvamiśra (see Handiqui) : *visaṁghaṭitārthān ... athavā vighaṭitākṣarān api saṁghaṭitārthān*. All other ctys read °*akkhare vi* (= *api*) *saṁghaḍiatthe*.

[25] My translation of *aṇuhūamuṇeavve* differs from Goldschmidt's in that I have taken *aṇuhūa* (Skt *anubhūta*) actively, meaning " one who is experienced ".

> up and disjointed, of which the sense is incoherent (and) which (therefore) are laughed at by those blinded by their youth.

After this verse 26 seems to follow naturally :

> (For (also)) the talks of traders, even when they have been coherent, mainly dealing with the heart of the matter become incoherent ; let alone when they etc.

The intervening verse 25 forms a problem, not only here where it is found between 24 and 26 but also in a larger context. The passage in question, which begins with 20 and goes on to 36, contains the words Jāmbavān addresses to Sugrīva. In chapter III the latter held a speech to stimulate the monkeys who upon seeing the ocean had lost all courage. After his speech the monkeys were much excited and could not wait to attack the ocean. Then the sage old counsellor Jāmbavān intervenes and addresses Sugrīva to calm him and the monkeys, fearing that they are going to attack the ocean on their own. He begins his speech (from 20 onwards) by summing up certain facts ascribed to mythology which he himself witnessed. His old age, he argues, has given him a right to judge other people's actions. In 24 he then warns Sugrīva that he should not despise his words even if due to his old age he falters and sounds incoherently. After this follows verse 25 in which he praises Sugrīva for being the force behind the monkey-army. In 26 he pursues the idea of 24 by pointing out that not only the words of old men are difficult to follow but also those of traders. In 27 he concludes, saying that his opinions deserve much respect. Only after this, with 28, Jāmbavān comes to the point, saying that the monkeys should not undertake war on their own without Rāma and his party. Verse 25, which is out of place between 24 and 26 would also seem out of place in the larger context of 20-27.[26] Its contents suggests that it rather belongs to the passage beginning with 28. It is

---

In my opinion it refers to one who is experienced in listening to old men's talks or one who has experienced the same things in life as the speaker, in case Jāmbavān. *Muṇeavva* is the gerund of *muṇa-* " to understand ", from Skt *man-* " to think " (see K. R. Norman, " The Labialisation of Vowels in Middle Indo-Aryan ", *Studien zur Indologie und Iranistik*, I. 1976, p. 45). As far as I know the use of the *e*-stem in this formation has yet to be explained. Pischel, *Grammatik der Prākrit-Sprachen*, Strassburg, 1900, par 489, quotes in addition to *muṇeavva*, JŚ *muṇedavva* ; see also H. Jacobi, *Ausgewählte Erzählungen in Māhārāṣṭrī*, Darmstadt, 1967, p. 36, line 37 : *muṇeyavva*.

[26] It should be noted that even if the traditional interpretation of 24 and 26 is maintained the present position of 25 is awkward. In the first place it makes sense before 26 only if *kiṁ uṇa* would indeed mean " but ", which it doesn't. In the second place the combination of 25 and 26 looks strange before 27 which pursues the idea expressed in the verses 20-24.

in fact tempting to suggest that 25 originally belonged to that passage but either accidentally or due to some alteration was put between 24 and 26.[27]

The changes suggested above regarding the order of the hemistiches of 26 and the position of 25, represent a considerable deviation from the tradition, as they go against all available Mss and ctys. This inevitably leads to the conclusion that all available Mss would go back ultimately to one common original, in which the verses had already become mixed up. The changes, which I have suggested above, have been based solely on arguments involving syntax and meaning. I am unfortunately unable to make these arguments more convincing by, for instance, giving an explanation of how the order of the hemistiches and verses could have become mixed up. I am unfortunately also unable to give other evidence to back up the conclusion that all Mss derive from one common source.

After this long digression I should like to come back to the word *duppariallā* in *kiṁ uṇa duppariallā majjāāikkamuppahavalijjaṁtā*. First, however, two brief remarks may be made on this clause. The first concerns the syntactical relation between *duppariallā* and *°valijjaṁtā*. As there is no word formally connecting the two, the former should be taken as specifying, or being specified by, the latter : " *duppariallā* because they enter etc. " or, *vice versa* : " because they are *duppariallā*, they enter etc. " In the second place *duppariallā* and *° valijjaṁtā* are both to be linked to *kajjālāvā* as well as *uahī* of the preceding hemistich. As a result the ctys, to which we will presently turn, give in each case two meanings. It is to be noted, though, that *duppariallā* has been found mainly in descriptions of objects. of a person or of a group of persons. Its occurrence here in a description of "talks" is exceptional. It may therefore be possible that in the latter case *duppurialla* has been used metaphorically.

---

[27] The exact original position of 25 can only be guessed at. Note, however, especially its formal agreement with 28, 29 and 30. In 28 Jāmbavān justifies his first remark, that the monkey-army should not begin a war on its own, with a parable which as in 25 refers to the sun : " One sun may scorch the earth ; all suns together burn up the whole three-world. " In 29 he says that " misplaced energy is a stain on one's pride ", in which phrase the word *ovaggai* of 25 occurs. In 30 Jāmbavān admonishes Sugrīva not to abandon in his haste the path of a good king, which admonition he exemplfifies by saying : " the heat of (a mighty element like) the sun lessens when in the Southern hemisphere it goes quickly (in winter). " In this connection it is to be noted that in the *Setubandha* in a sequence of verses often the same words or the same formal elements are repeated. On this phenomenon in a Skt *kāvya* the *Meghadūta*, see W. Schubring, " Jinasena, Mallinātha, Kālidāsa " *ZDMG* 105, 1955, pp. 331-337, and my article called " A Formal Type of Arrangement in the Vulgata of the *Gāthāsaptaśati* of Hāla ", *Studien zur Indologie und Iranistik* IV, 1978, pp. 111-130.

In what follows I intend to quote briefly the glosses for *dupparialla*. Those found in Rāmadāsa's cty, which formed the bases for Goldschmidt's translations, have already been quoted above : *duṣparikalanīyāḥ . . . itthaṁ-kartavyatayā duravadhāraṇīyā vā* and *duravagāhanīyāḥ*. In Handiqui three more ctys are quoted, namely that of Kulanātha, Kṛṣṇavipra and Mādhavayajvamiśra. On *dupparialla* Kulanātha has the following : *dupparialla aśakyāvadhāraṇāḥ aśakyalaṅghanāḥ* "*dupparialla* means 'impossible to understand', impossible to jump over,". Kṛṣṇavipra has *duṣparikalā duṣparicchedā* "means '*duṣparikala*', i.e. difficult to define'", and *udadhayaśca duṣparīcchedāḥ* "and oceans (are) difficult to limit". The glosses Mādhavayajvamiśra gives are to a large extent the same as those given by Kṛṣṇavipra : *duṣparikalanāḥ paricchettuṁ parimātuṁ cāśakyāḥ* "means '*duṣparikalana*', i.e. 'impossible to define and impossible to embrace'".

In these Skt translations the frequent occurrence of formations of the verb *parikalay-* is striking : *duṣparikalanīya* (Rāmadāsa), *duṣparikala* (Kṛṣṇavipra) and *duṣparikalana* (Mādhavayajvamiśra).[28] The meanings of the verb *parikalay-* may be grouped in two categories, one comprising "to seize, to hold, to encircle", the other "to perceive, to consider as". The latter meanings probably go back to the former ones. In connection with the *śleṣa* on *kajjālāvā* and *uahī* the use of the verb *parikalay-* seems therefore very appropriate.

According to Kṛṣṇavipra and Mādhavayajvamiśra *dupparialla* when taken with *uahī*, means "difficult to hold" or "difficult to surround". This meaning seems to make good sense here. Note in this connection especially the compound *majjāāikkamuppahavalijjaṁtā* by which it is followed and which describes the sea as irresistiably expanding ! This meaning may be preferred above *duravagāhanīya* (Rāmadāsa) and *aśakyalaṅghana* (Kulanātha) which hardly would make sense in the case of *Sattasaī* 122, where *dupparialla* describes an unplaned (*alihia*), that is thick, bow.

---

[28] As in the case of the ctys on the *Sattasaī* not much is known about the ones quoted here. As in this instance, they often agree closely with one another. It has so far, though, not been possible to find out with certainty whether they copy each other or, instead, whether all copy from one and the same source. The Kulanātha quoted here is most probably the same as the one who wrote a cty on *Sattasaī* (see Weber, *Abh.*). Mādhavayajvamiśra, too, seems to have written a cty on the *Sattasaī* ; see *New Catalogus Catalogorum*, Vol. V, Madras, 1969, p. 334^b; where a cty by a certain Mādhavayajvan is mentioned.

When linked to *kajjālāvā dupparialla* would according to all ctys mean something like "difficult to understand" or "difficult to follow", this as a result of the fact that the talks contain too many digressions.

For 26 I should therefore like to give the following translation :

> (For (also)) talks of traders, even when they have been kept coherent, mainly dealing with the heart of the matter, are nevertheless difficult to follow, like seas (which, even when they have been shut in, being heavy with valuable objects,[29] nevertheless disperse in all directions); how much more so when they are vague, entering upon sidetracks by going beyond their proper subjects (when they are difficult to hold, entering into places where they do not belong by going beyond their proper shores) ?

The two remaining instances of *dupparialla* are *Setubandha* VI 18 and XIII 79. The former reads as follows :

aha jaaduppaгalle dahamuhakuvieṇa pavaavaipaccakkhaṁ
rahuṇāheṇa samudde vālimmi va bāṇaṇiamiammi pasante.

The verse as a whole is a locative absolute construction to the following verse and has been translated by Goldschmidt in the following way :

> Da nun von dem auf den Zehnköpfigen erzürnten Raghuherrn
> vor den Augen des Affenherrn das für die Welt schwer
> überschreitbare Meer mit dem Pfeile gebändigt und zu Ruhe
> gebracht war wie Vāli, (gieng der Befehl Rāma's . .)[30]

Goldschmidt's "schwer überschreitbar" for *dupparialla* is a literal translation of Rāmadāsa's *dustaraṇīye*. Rāmadāsa's complete paraphrase for *dupparialle*, though, reads as follows : *jagatā duṣparikalanīye dustaraṇīye, pakṣe durjaye*, in which again, a gloss formed with verb *parikalay*—is found. See also Kṛṣṇavipra's *jagatā parikalayituṁ pariśchettum aśakye.*

As has been noted above, every time a gloss formed with the verb *parikalay* —occurs, it is further specified with synonyms. This, however, does not seem to be the case here, for *dustaraṇīya* indicates a movement of going *over*, *duṣparikalanīya*, on the other hand, a movement of going *around*. The two glosses are related only in so far as every sea which is difficult to hold or surround, is probably also difficult to cross. Besides this, it is to be noted that the meaning

---

[29] This would be assuming that the seas are shut in or contained *because* they are "heavy with valuable objects". This is a rather unusual thought. The translation is given purely for the sake of analogy, lacking a better one.

[30] When by the lord of the Raghus, who was angry at the ten-headed one, the sea, which was difficult to cross for the people, was kept down and calmed before the eyes of the lord of the monkeys, like Vāli, (. . . .)

" difficult to cross " seems to be only of limited importance, for it would make no sense in *Sattasaī* 122, where it describes a bow.

Both Kṛṣṇavipra and Rāmadāsa suggest for *dupparialla* a meaning " difficult to surround " or " difficult to hold ". In connection with the sea *jaadupparialle* would then mean " which was difficult to surround (or : hold) by all mankind (*jagat*) ". As such it refers to the impossibility of people to check the expansion of the sea. *Jaadupparialle* seems to contrast with *bāṇaṇiamiammi* " subdued (or : checked) with arrows " : what the world as a whole could not do, Rāma did with his arrows. Taken with Vāli *jaadupparialle* would mean " who was difficult to hold by all mankind ". In the latter case *dupparialla* comes very close to the idea " being hard to conquer " (*durjaye*). A translation of the verse is the following :

> Next (*aha*), when the sea which was difficult to hold by all mankind had come to rest, subdued with arrows before the eyes of the monkey-lord, by Raghunātha in his anger at Daśamukha; the sea which was like Vāli, who was difficult to hold by all people together but who had come to rest subdued with arrows before the eyes of the monkey-lord, by Raghunātha in his anger at Daśamukha..[31]

Setubandha XIII 79 reads as follows :

> *vocchiṇṇasaṁdhiajasā hoṁti ṇiattasamuhaṭṭhaviasoḍīrā*
> *kaibaladuppariallā siḍhiliapaḍivaṇṇaraṇadhurā raaṇiarā*,

for which Goldschmidt gives the following translation :

> Indem die Nachtwandler die Kampfesarbeit erst loslassen dann wieder aufnehmen, wird ihr Ruhm, erst zerrissen, wieder geflickt, ihr Mut, erst fortgelaufen, wieder zum Stehen gebracht, und sie für das Affenheer schwer überwindbar.[32]

Goldschmidt's " schwer überwindbar " for *dupparialla* has, again, been based on the commentator Rāmadāsa who has *duṣparikalanīyā durādharṣāḥ*. In Handiqui two more ctys are quoted, namely Mādhavayajvamiśra's and Kulanātha's. The former has *duṣparikalanā duṣpradharṣāḥ* " difficult to surround, i.e. difficult to violate " ; the latter *rajanīcarā kapisainyasya duṣparikalanīyāḥ jetum aśakyā bhavanti* " the night-roamers (i.e. demons) are difficult to hold for the monkey-army, i.e. impossible to conquer ". It can be seen that all three ctys just quoted take *dupparialla* in the first instance in the meaning "difficult to surround" or "difficult to hold". The glosses which follow, seem to be secondary interpretations of the first ones.

---

[31] It is not clear to me why Goldschmidt in his translation ignored the *śleṣa* with which he must have been familiar from the ctys.

[32] While the night-roamers first abandoned the burden of battle and next took it up again, their fame, first torn to pieces, was patched up again, their valour, first run away, was brought to a stop and they themselves became difficult to conquer for the monkey-army.

Goldschmidt's analysis of the syntax contains some element of arbitrariness. He takes the compounds in the first three *pādas* as part of the predicate and links *siḍhiliapaḍivaṇṇaraṇadhurā* attributively to *raaṇiarā*. In doing so he ignores the rather obvious similarity of the compounds *vocchiṇṇasaṁdhiajasā*, *ṇiattasamuhaṭṭhaviasoḍīrā* and *siḍhiliapaḍivaṇṇaraṇadhurā*. *Kaibaladuppariallā* falls conspicuously out of tune. It may not be unlikely to assume that the former three compounds have syntactically identical functions, i.e. either all three are part of the predicate or all three are to be taken as attributes to *raaṇiarā*. In the following translation I have chosen for the latter possibility, so that *kaibaladuppariallā* functions as part of the predicate.

> The night-roamers who restored their fame which had been torn asunder, who displayed heroism which earlier had turned away (and) who (thus) resumed their effort in battle which had slackened, became difficult to hold for the monkey-army.

Dupparialla has furthermore been mentioned in the *Pāiyalacchī*[33] and the *Deśīnāmamalā*.[34] In *Pāiyalacchī* 208 *dupparialla* is mentioned as a synonym of *asakka* (*aśakya*). As a result Bühler translates *dupparialla* with "weak, feeble." Goldschmidt[35] alters this into "impracticable." In *Deśīnāmamālā* V 55 *dupparialla* has been glossed with *asakka* (*aśakya*), *duuṇa* (*dviguṇa*) and *aṇabbhasia* (*anabhyasita*). Pischel translates these glosses with "impracticable, impossible," "double" and "not practised, not learned" respectively. On the basis of the instances of *dupparialla* in the *Sattasaī* and the *Setubandha* which have been discussed above I should like to suggest quite different translations for these glosses. *Asakka* may have the meaning "invincible"[36] and *aṇabbhasia* "not conquered" (cf. *Setubandha* VI 18 and XIII 79).[37] It is less clear which meaning *duuṇa* (*dviguṇa*) should have here. It is difficult to see how the meaning "twofold" or "double" should fit in the picture given above of *duppurialla.* It may be asked if the word could possibly mean "thick" here, from "double, twice as large as". In that case it may be connected with *duppurialla* in *Sattasaī* 122, where it describes a bow which is difficult to go round with the hands, i.e. is too thick to hold.[38]

---

[33] Bühler, G. *The Pāiyalacchī Nāmamālā, a Prākrit Kośa, by Dhanapāla*, Göttingen, 1878 (= *B.B.* 4, pp. 70-160). For a short characterisation of this work, see Pischel, *op.cit.*, par. 35.

[34] Pischel, R. *The Deśīnāmālā of Hemacandra*, Bombay, 1938². See also Pischel, *op.cit.*, par. 36.

[35] *Setubandha*, p. 308, note.

[36] For *aśakya* "not to be overcome, invincible" MW refers to *Rāmāyaṇa* VI 17, 8 and *Pañcatantra* (no place). One may add : *Saundarānanda* II 45. Cf. *śakyate* "to be overcome or subdued, succumb" (MW).

[37] The occurrence of a ppp. *aṇabbhasia* (*anabhyasita*) besides a gerund *asakka* (*aśakya*) is peculiar. For this I have no explanation.

In the above discussion of the three instances of *duppurialla* in the *Setubandha* it has been shown that the meaning "difficult to hold (or : to surround)" suggested by the variant readings *dupparigejhjhaṁ* and *ḍupparigajjaṁ* in *Sattasaī* 122 provides a good alternative to the meanings given by Goldschmidt and could, though not always without significant modification as in the case of *Setubandha* IV 26, be fitted in all contexts. Furthermore, it appears that the meaning "difficult to hold (or : to surround)" occurs in almost all ctys on the relevant verses. In most cases the meaning is in the first place expressed by forms of the verb *parikalay-* "to seize, hold, encircle ; to perceive, consider as", such as *duṣparikalanīya, duṣparikala, duṣparikalana* or *parikalayitum aśakya.* The use of the verb *parikalay-* evokes the question if the person who introduced these glosses was still aware of the meaning of *duppurialla.* One could, for instance, imagine that he merely relied on formal similarities, i.e. the possibility to derive *duppurialla* from *duṣparikalya* and that for the meaning he had to base himself solely on the contexts. Note in this connection that the glosses formed on the basis of *parikalay-* never occur alone but are always followed by others specifying them. Among these occur some meaning "difficult to surround" and others meaning "difficult to conquer" or "difficult to violate". (The translations found in the *Pāiyalacchī* and the *Deśināmamāiā* agree with these latter ones). In the light of this it remains uncertain if any one of the commentators really knew the meaning of the word *duppurialla.* This means, in turn, that all available traditional glosses can be considered only as *ad hoc* inventions. One of these, however, namely "difficult to hold (or: to surround)", fits, as I have tried to show, in all instances of the word ; as such it comes into consideration as a possible meaning for *duppurialla.*

In what follows I should like to say a few words on the different derivations suggested so far for *duppurialla.* Goldschmidt, Pischel and Bühler derive the word from *duṣparikalya*.[39] It is difficult to see how this derivation should cover the meanings which these scholars assumed for the word *dupparialla* (see above, p. 222, 223 & 235). However, this derivation does account for the meaning " difficult to hold (or : to surround) ". There is possibly one drawback to a derivation from *duṣparikalya*, namely that the verb *parikalay*-occurs only in Skt. works of a much later date that the *Sattasaī*, the older of the two Pkt. texts in which *dupparialla* occurs.[40] It may be noted that *dupparialla* can in the same way be derived from *duṣparicalya*.

---

[38] In connection with the bow of *Sattasaī* 122 one may also consider for *dviguṇa* a meaning "with two bowstrings", the implication of which, however, escapes me. It should furthermore be noted that one cannot be certain that all instances of *duppurialla* which were known to Hemacandra, have actually been seen. It is quite possible that he had before him yet another instance of the word, on the basis of which he came, rightly or wrongly, to the conclusion that *duppurialla* should, beside *asakka* and *aṇabbhasia* also mean *duuṇa.*

Weber who translates *dupparialla* with " difficult to draw " suggests to derive the word from *duppariaḍḍha* (Skt. *duṣparikarṣa*). This derivation should for now obvious reasons be abandoned. After this he briefly mentions yet another possible derivation for *dupparialla* : it would consist of *dus*- + *parialla*.. The latter word is mentioned in Hemacandra IV 162 among the *ādeśas* for the Skt. verb *gam*- " to go ". Weber did not pursue this possibility. The verb *parialla*- is rare, occurring only in Hemacandra's grammar.[41] For its meaning we have consequently no independent evidence. Pischel apparently assumed that it meant " to surround " [42] and derived it from * *paricalyati*.[43]

---

[39] See *Setubandha*, p. 165^b, *Deśīnāmamālā*, index, p. 51^b and *Pāiyalacchī*, p. 140^b respectively. *Duṣparikalpa* in the index of the *Deśīnāmamālā* is evidently a printing error ; the Pkt and Skt words in this index are in Devanāgarī.

[40] According to MW *parikalay*-occurs in the *Kādambarī* and *Harṣacarita* (7th cent.), in the *Śiśupālavadha* (7th cent.), the *Bālarāmāyaṇa* (9th cent.) and the *Mahāvīracaritra* (11th cent.). The composition of the *gāthās* of the *Sattasaī* is believed to have taken place in the first centuries A.D. (see B. Keith. *A Hist. of Skt. Lit*., p. 40) : that of the *Setubandha* in the 5th cent. (see Handiqui p. 19)

[41] Sheth, *op.cit*., p. 551^a, quotes an absolutive *parialliūṇa* from the *Kumārapālacaritra* by Hemacandra. The latter, though, composed this work mainly in order to give examples of the rules compiled in his grammar. Such instances from the *Kumārapālacaritra* are therefore only of secondary importance.

[42] Hemacandra classified the verb among the *ādeśas* for *gam*- " to go ". The meaning " to surround ", though, poses no problem, for the same list includes such words as *ṇī*- " to go *out* ", *vola*- " to pass *along* " and *ṇimmaha*- " to *emit* (of fragrance) ".

[43] *op.cit*., par. 488. In the same paragraph Pischel refers to *callai*, mentioned in Vararuci's *Prākṛtaprakāśa* (VIII 53) beside *calai*. For NIA derivatives of this *callai*, see *CDIAL* 4721. Its derivation is a totally different matter. Both Pischel and Turner assume a non-existent **calyati*. J. Bloch, *Indo-Aryan* (translated by A. Master), Paris, 1965, p. 96, who has also drawn attention to the improbability of this **calyati*, refers instead to a tendency in the spoken language to double the first medial consonant.

Hemacandra seems to have known two strikingly similar synonyms for *parialla-*, namely *pariala-* and *pariāla-*. The former occurs in the very same *sūtra* as *parialla-*. As in the case of *parialla-* no instances of the verb *pariala-* are known.[44] The second verb, *pariāla-*, is mentioned in Hemacandra IV 51 as an *ādeśa* of *veṣṭ-* "to envelop, to surround". See also *Pāiyalacchī* 199 : *pariyāliyaṁ veḍhiyayaṁ*. Of this verb, again, no instances are known.[45] The relation between these three verbs, *parialla-*, *pariala-* and *pariāla-*, which seem to be synonymous and which are so strikingly similar, is as yet not quite clear. *Pariala-* possibly goes back to *parical-*; *pariāla-* may, in its turn, be a variant of *parialla-*, in which case, though, it would in theory at least clash with * *pariāle-* from the causative *paricālay-*. It is furthermore to be noted that of these three verbs only *parialla-* actually occurs in a context that might be labelled "verbal", namely in *dupparialla*.

In this connection I should like to suggest quite different derivations for the words *parialla-*, *pariala-* and *pariāla-*. The variation observed in the final parts of these words closely resembles that found in the case of *-alla*, *ala* and *āla*, all three apparently unconditioned variants of the suffix *illa*.[46] This suffix forms adjective of substantives as well as of adverbs. Instances of the latter category are *heṭṭhilla* "being under" from *heṭṭhā*, *pacchilla* "being behind" from *pacchā* etc. These forms are found almost exclusively in AMg. *Parialla*, *pariala* and *pariāla* may similarly be analysed as consisting of the adverb *pari* plus the suffixes *-alla*, *-ala* and *-āla* respectively and would mean "lying around, surrounding".[47] The absence of *sandhi* between *pari* and the suffixes is peculiar but may be due to analogy with such words as *pariaṁta* (*paryanta*), *pariatthi* (*paryasti*) and *pariāvia-* (*paryāpā-*). In *pariaṁta* etc. the *-i-* is a *svarabhakti*-vowel; in *parialla* etc. it is the original final vowel of *pari*. The former type of words, which are frequent in AMg. and Pāli, may have created the impression that *pari* before vowels was not affected by *sandhi*. Furthermore, words such as *māṇailla* "sulking" (from *māṇaka* + *illa* ?), *dhaṇailla* "rich" (from *dhanaka* + *illa* ?) may have given the impression that between the suffix *-illa* and the stem a hiatus was not uncommon. From these adjectives verbs may have been formed,[48] one of these, i.e. *parialla-*, occurring in *dupparialla*.

---

[44] Sheth, *op.cit.*, p. 551^a refers to a ppp. *parialia* from the *Kumārapālacaritra*. On this text, see note 41 *Pariala* does, however, occur as a substantive, apparently denoting a kind of vessel or receptacle (see *Bhavisatta kaha*, ed. H. Jacobi, Munchen, 1918, 109, 3; 115, 2; 251, 9).

[45] Sheth, *op.cit.*, p. 551^a refers only to Hemacandra's grammar. *Pariāla* does, however, occur as a substantive, meaning "attendant (s)". For instances, see Pischel, *op.cit.*, par. 257. Pischel derives this word from either *paricāra* or *parivāra*. Sheth (*loc.cit.*) refers to *parivāra*, in which he is followed by Turner, *CDIAL* 7876. Sheth refers furthermore to an instance of *pariāla* in the *Gauḍavaho* (20) where it would mean "surrounded" :

> *so jaai jāmāillāamāṇamuhalālivalaapariālaṁ*
> *lacchiṇivesaṁtauravaiṁ va jo vahai vaṇamālaṁ.*

Haripāla, a commentator on the *Gauḍavaho*, glosses *pariālaṁ* with *pariveṣṭitāṁ*. In this he is followed by Sheth (see above) and by N. G. Suru, who gives the following translation :

> Victorious is he who wears a garland of wood-flowers, encircled (*pariālaṁ*) by rows of humming bees behaving as watchmen and thus looking as an enclosure (thrown) round the harem, the residence of Lakṣmī.

It may be asked, though, if *pariāla* should here not be taken in the meaning "attendant" :

> Victorious is he who wears a garland of forest-flowers, which looks like a hedge around Lakṣmī's harem with as attendants circles of humming bees which (at the same time) function as watchmen.

From the discussion above it appears that for the derivation of *dupparialla* "difficult to hold (or : to surround)" there seem to be several possibilities. None of these, however, is entirely without problems, except possibly the one from *duṣparicalya*. In the case of the derivation of *dupparialla* from *parialla-*, which would consist of *pari* and *-alla*, it would originally be an AMg. word. Though the occurrence of AMg. words in M. Pkt. texts is not unknown, it is certainly not very common. The fact that it is an AMg. word would, however, explain how, once the meaning of the word was lost, it could be retrieved by guessing only, for according to the sound-changes for M. Pkt. initially no straight derivation from a Skt. word may have been known. It should be noted that *duṣparikalya* probably represents only a relatively late attempt to furnish *dupparialla* with a derivation.

---

[46] See Pischel, *op. cit.*, par. 595.

[47] The meanings "vessel, receptacle" (cp. note 44) as well as "attendant(s) (cp. note 45) for *pariala* and *pariāla* respectively, would go back to the meanings "lying or being around, surrounding".

[48] *jāmaillāamāṇa* in *Gauḍavaho* 20, quoted in note 4:.

FLORAL TOPONYMY OF VAḌODARĀ DISTRICT

By

Indra G. Bhagia*

Plants supply much needed food to Man and therefore along with animals, Man recognises them from the beginning of his evolution. By his intelligent use of the plant-world by planting and agriculture he began to procure large stocks of food supply that led to the development of villages.

The villagers required identification of different places and in this process large trees, floral communities, barren areas etc. were good indicators of a locality.

This basic effective use of trees, plants etc. is very well reflected in the toponyms of Vadodara District. But this feature would depend upon a correct interpretation of the place-names by referring to valid evidence. The passage of time creates many corruptions or changes on the form of the original name. That does not mean that all the names would change without retaining their original forms. There may be a few which have preserved their original form by surviving for long periods of time.

It is an established fact that the study of place-names reveals how our ancestors lived and how they turned the earth's surface in to a human habitat. The physical environment may also have influenced human thinking to name the settlements. As such, almost all the factors such as religious, social, cultural and geographical features, which influence human life have also exerted their influence on the names of the places.

Water and food are the first requirements for man to settle at a place where these were in plenty. It is evident that after wandering for millennia, man learnt to cultivate land, and in that process permanent settlements were made, Like other factors, which influenced man in giving a name to his settlement, agriculture and related activities also have a good deal of impact in the choice of place-names.

Verbal discriptions given in old books regarding place-names are inadequate to a botanist for identifying flora or its parts. There has been a goo deal of confusion in the names as used in our languages. In many cases, even learned experts of indigenous flora are unable to say with certainty whether a particular plant is the same as the one indicated in old texts.

Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. 34, Nos. 3-4, March-June 1985 issue, pp. 241-247.

* 16-Naina Society, Near Sapna Cinema, Makerpura Road, Vadodara-390 009.

The identification of flora will remain the major problem until prominent characteristics of each flora are well established.

Much thought and attention have been given to the preparation of the derivation of flloral names on the botanical side, an effort has been made to present, as far as possible, the nomenclature accepted in current literature. It is hardly necessary to stress here the importance of quoting the authority while citing a floral name. Botanical synonyms are in a state of confusion and that is necessary to state the various derivations by various authors.

Often results have been published as pertaining to flora, while the flora actually investigated was entirely different from the one for which the results are reported.

These changes occur either naturally or deliberately, more often according to certain linguistic principles. Thus a toponomical investigation is highly correlated with topography and linguistics. Particular mention may be made of the inclusion in the present paper of a large number of flora which grow in Vadodara District (Gujarat State).

There are important vernacular names commonly used in different regions of India. For want of space it has not been possible to include all vernacular names.

Another feature of the flora is the inclusion of information on the distribution of flora in different talukas of Vadodara district. The description given in the literature has been revised as a result of our survey.

The name which belong to natural pecularities relate to the flora of the place. Thus the names derived from trees, bushes, shrubs, orchards and forests also were carefully discovered.

The Vadodara district has got a beautiful environment consisting of rich variety forested land and this climatic situation with slight difference must have prevailed in the past too. Similarly the District which is covered with forests in modern times might have also been so in the past. One can get the glimpses of this forest-wealth of Vadodara district in ancient times from the place-names mentioned in inscriptions of different dynasties that ruled over it in historic period.

Among the dynasties that ruled over it, their inscriptions provide as with some of the place-names which help us to trace the flora of ancient Vadodara District.

The earlier references of place-names in Vadodara District are those from the Gurjara and Maitraka and Kalachuri periods.

The Kalachuries occupied Vadodara district.

The Saṅkheḍā copper-plate of the time of Kalachuri King Sankara (ga) na (circa 595 A.D.) records the grant of land in the sub-division of Tandula Padraka, which is identified with Tāndalajā in the Saṅkheḍā Tālukā.

Tāndalaja : (derived from Tandulya, bot. a maranthus tricolar = A type of vegetation).

In 812 A.D. Rashtrakuta Karka Suvarnavarsha, granted the village Vaḍapadraka to a Brahman from Valabhi. The village was situated in Aṅkoṭṭaka-84. Vaḍapadraka is modern Vaḍodara and Aṅkoṭṭaka is Akoṭā which is now suburb of Vaḍodarā.

Vaḍodarā (Vadodara Taluka) (Vaḍ Padraka became Vaḍodarā. Its prefix Vaḍ = Banyan tree bot. Ficuss benghalensis + dara derived from Padraka = Village). A village named after Banyan trees.

Akoṭā (Vaḍodarā Tālukā) : Aṅkoṭṭaka derived from Aṅkol bot. Alangium Salvi solium. Settlement having Aṅkol trees.

After that Darbhāvatī is mentioned in Yogaśāstravṛitti of Hemacandra Sūri dated twelfth (12th) century A.D.)

Dabhoi : (Dabhoi Tālukā) derived from Darbha + Vatī Darbha bot. Desmostachyabipinnata and Vatī = made of) i.e. settlement on an area having Darbha grass.

With the establishment of Khalji power of Delhi, in Gujarat the governors were appointed. Vaḍodarā came under their control. But during the period of Muhammad Tughluq, Vaḍodarā revolted along with Dabhoi and the rulers had difficulties.

Thus some of the place-names in Vaḍodarā district are found from at least the 6th century A.D. However, the evidences of such scanty data is significant to suggest that many centres that were existing from the early period as known from archaeology continued in later period, some times with the old name and sometimes with the altered or the new name.

The study of place-names is of value in itself, in as much as the meaning and history of place-names would be of good deal of interest to people.

After this we take up the toponyms reflecting the flora of the area, It is found that large trees usually have a much bigger share in the toponyms in comparison to grass, creepers and other flora of the region.

The flora include large tress, plants or bushes and various types of grass. Among the village-names derived from large trees, e. g Bill, Gundi, Gugal, Karnjavant, Pipala etc.

e. g. Bil (Vaḍodarā Tālukā) derived from Sanskrit Bilva bot., Aegle-marmelos = a type of tree). Settlement having Bili trees.

Gundi (Jabugām Tālukā) (derived from Sanskrit Gunde bot., Cordiaghar = A type of tree) settlement having Gundi trees.

Gugal (Chotaudepur Tālukā) (derived from S. Guggula bot. Comphoramukul = A type of tree). Settlement having Guggal trees.

Karanj Vānt (Jabugām Tālukā): (derived from S. Karanj, a bot. Pangamia pinnata = A type of trees : Vant = area). Settlement near a grove of Karanj trees.

Pipla (Chotaudepur Tālukā) (derived from Pippla bot Ficus religiosa = A type of tree). Settlement surrounded by Pipalā trees. etc. are found. There are 326 i. e. 20% of such names in Vadodara District. They have been widely used in almost all parts of the district. They give an idea about the forest and pastures with different types of trees that were existing in this area.

Sometimes after clearing certain areas which are full of thorny bushes or grass, the new settlements seem to have taken place and they were named accordingly. For examples, Sihor (Pādrā Tālukā) which is derived from Sinhod bot. Euophorbia heri folia = which means a variety of cactus. In Gujarat such plants are found in plenty. These are totally 59 in number and form about 3.6% of the total.

Similarly Madāpur is named after small shrubs called madā which is a type of intoxicating vegetation.

Madā (Pādrā Tālukā) : (Gujarati is equivalent to S. Dhava bot. Anogeissus latifolia) Also called Ghataki or Dhwadi in Gujarati, Pur = colony). A town founded after clearing the area of Madā vegetation, which is a type of intoxicating vegetation. After removing it a village came into existence and is known as madāpur.

The villages Chhatri, Ambāḍa Chhatri (Dabhoi Tālukā) (derived from S. Chhatra bot. Psalliota (Agericaceae) Campestris = vegetation).

Ambāḍa : (Pādrā Tālukā) (derived from S. Amrataka bot. Spondlas, mangifera = A sour vegetable) Settlement having ambāḍā vegetation. There are 38 such villages that constitute about 2.3% of the total.

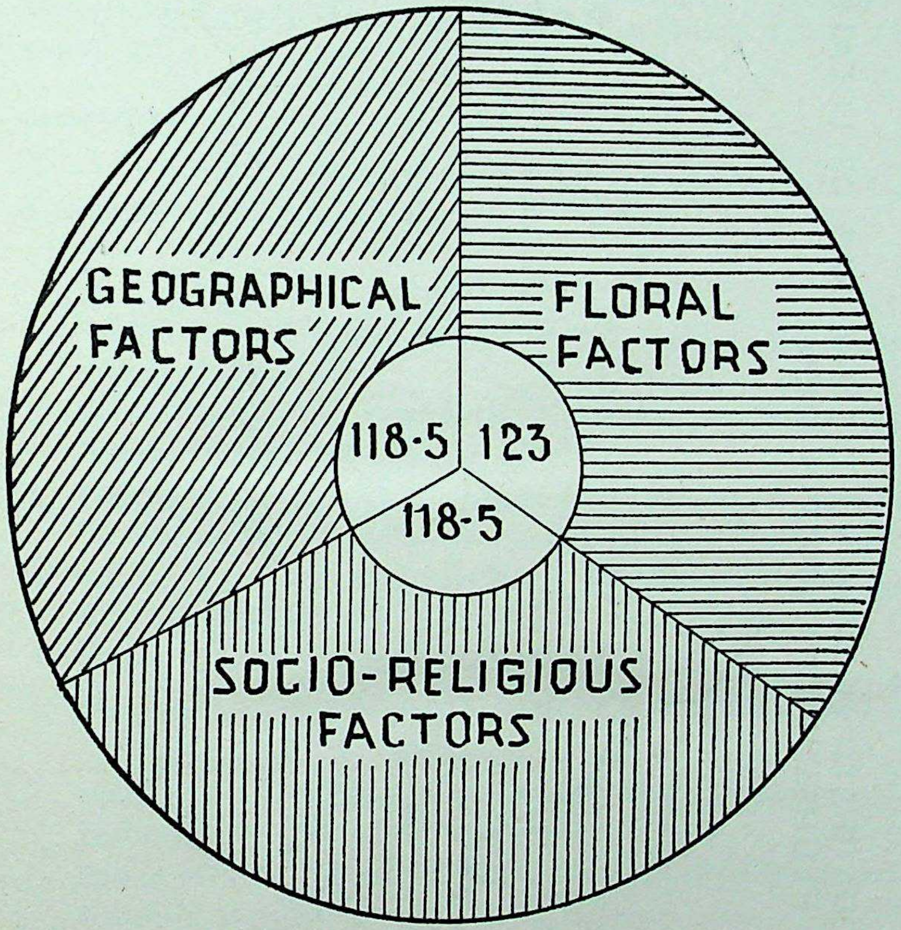
Moreover there is a variety of grass in the area such as kāns, munj, etc.

Kāns (Jabugām Taluka) : (derived from S. Kasha. bot. Saccharum Spontaneum). Settlement on grassy land.

Mujpur (Pādrā Tālukā) : (Muja derived from S. Muñja bot. Saccharumbenghalenge : Is the name of grass = Pur-colony). Settlement in an area where Muñja grass grown etc. There are 34 villages of this type and they form about 2% of the total.

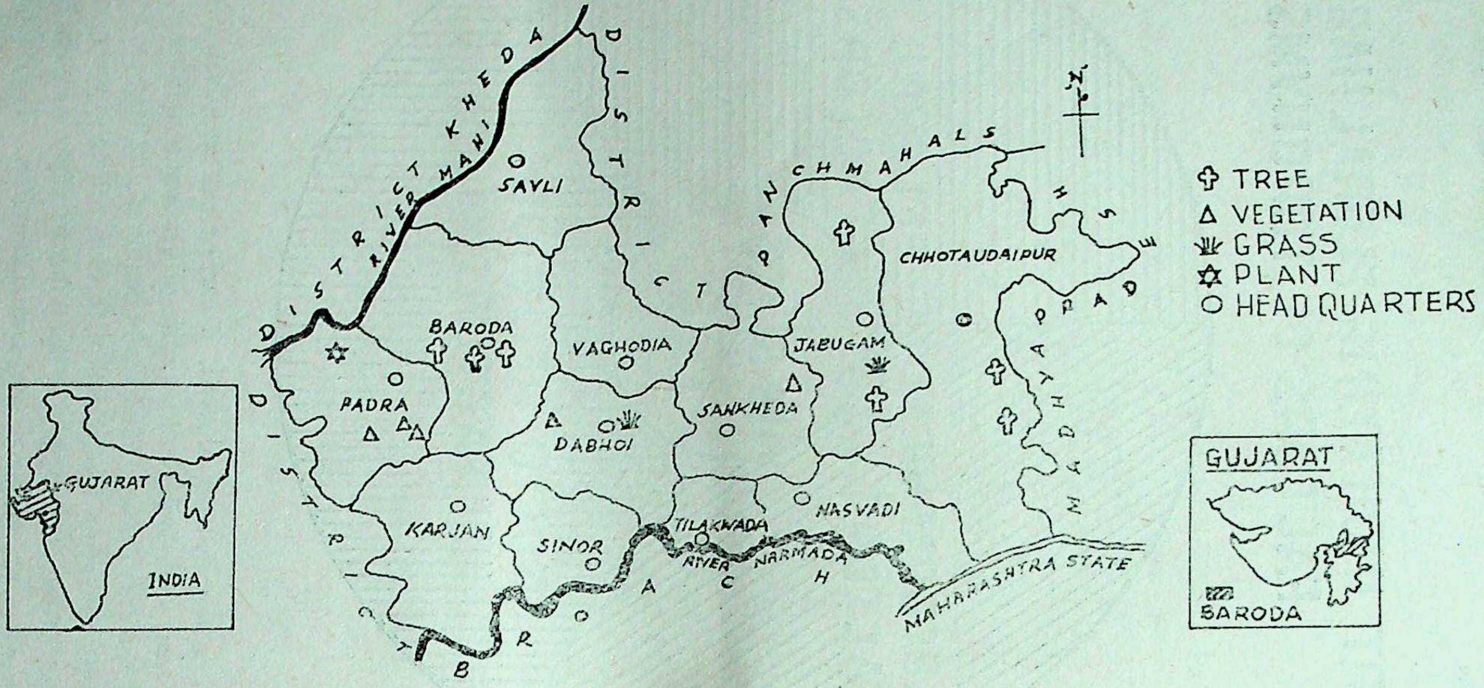
This analysis indicates that about 25% of the names show the phonetic change. Further investigations for understanding the time factor is hampered by the paucity of records, but it is found that such villages often are older habitations.

CHART INDICATING FLORAL HABITATION FACTORS OF TOPONYMS



Such a toponymical analysis, if carried out extensively over a large geographical area, might bring to light some of the unknown features of the cultural growth of the area through hundreds of centuries. It has been found that some of the words conveying topographical features belong to a very ancient stratum of language. Toponyms suggesting floral factors might therefore indicate ancient names current in the language our several centuries. They might also indicate how certain floral factors remain in popular memory for a long time. In fact they might further indicate how by dropping affixes such as—pur—or—vant they

MAP OF BARODA DISTRICT SHOWING THE TALUKAS OF LOCATIONS OF FLORAL HABITATIONS IN THEM


DISTRICT KHEDA
RIVER MANI
DISTRICT PANCHMAHALS
MADHYA PRADESH
DISTRICT BROACH
MAHARASHTRA STATE
RIVER NARMADA
SAVLI
BARODA
VAGHODIA
PADRA
DABHOI
SANKHEDA
JABUGAM
CHHOTAUDAIPUR
KARJAN
SINOR
TILAKWADA
NASVADI
N
TREE
VEGETATION
GRASS
PLANT
HEAD QUARTERS
GUJARAT
BARODA
INDIA
GUJARAT

may assume more symbolical connotations suggested by such names as Piplā, Madā, etc. Toponymical analysis is thus useful as a depth-analysis of not only the cultural growth of an area but also of the man mind of the community which comes to settle there. It is often said that a place remains " fixed " in our mind. What gets a fixation is the toponymy of the place—the trees, the shrubs, the grass and the natural layout of these in else relationship with man. Toponymic studies should therefore evoke great socio-cultural respons from all students of human history.

Acknowledgement :

I am grateful to Prof. D. D. Mahulkar, Professors R. N. Mehta and Prof. S. G. Kantawala for their guidance.

References

1. Dhruva, H. H. : Three land-grants from Saṅkhedā, *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. II, Bombay, 1983.
2. Burgess, James and Ocusens, H. : *Antiquities of Town of Dabhoi in Gujarat*, Baroda, 1888.
3. Fleet, J. F. : Karka Suvarna Varsha granted the village Vaḍa Padraka to the Brahman from Vallabhi. *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. II, Bombay, 1883.
4. Fleet, J. F. : Akota Grant of Karka Suvarnavarsha, *Indian Antiquary* Vol. XII, Bombay, 1883.
5. Shastri, K. K. : Vanauṣadhi-Kośa, Vadodara-1982.
6. Mehta R. N. : Vadodara-nā Sthaḷ-nāmo. *Gujarat Sthaḷa Nāma Saṁsad Vyākhyānamāḷā*, Pt. I, Vadodara, 1965.
7. Mehta R. N. : Vadodara Tālukā-Nāmo : *Gujarat Sthaḷa-Nāma Saṁsad Vyākhāyānamāḷā*, Pt. I, Vadodara, 1965.
8. Jñānaratna, (Dr.) Hiranand Śastri : *The Ruins of Dabhoi or Darbhavati in Baroda State*, Baroda, 1940.
9. Bhagia Indra G. : *A Study of Place-names of Baroda District (Gujarat) India*, Ph.D. Thesis, M.S. University of Baroda, Baroda, January, 1984.

THE NEOLITHIC OF KASHMIR : AN APPRAISAL

By

Purusottam Singh*

Kashmir was put on the Neolithic map of India by the archaeological excavations conducted intermittently (during 1960-65, 1968-69, 1971-72 and 1973-74) at Burzahom by Shri T. N. Khazanchi and his colleagues of the Archaeological Survey of India, although this site had been known to the archaeologists since 1935 for its megalithic remains (De Terra & Paterson, 1939). At the time of its discovery in the sixties this culture seemed to be an isolated and local phenomenon as the only site having some sort of a nebulous neolithic culture was Kile Ghul Mohammad near Quetta city (Faireservis : 1956). The spurt of archaeological activities in recent years both in the Kashmir valley and in the adjoining regions and the excavations at Mehrgarh in the Kachi plain in Baluchistan, at Gufkral in Kashmir (Sharma : 1979-80), at Koldihwa and other sites on the northern fringes of the Vindhyas (Sharma : 1980) and Chirand in the lower Ganga plain (Verma, B. S. 1970-71) have brought to light neolithic assemblages unknown hitherto. An assessment of these discoveries in relation to the researches on this vexed Problem in western Asia has been made by the present author elsewhere (Singh : 1980). In the present paper I shall confine myself with the subsistence pattern of the Neolithic folk of Kashmir.

Evidence regarding the subsistence pattern of the Kashmir Neolithic comes less from Burzahom and more from the recently excavated site of Gufkral (dist, Pulwama). There is as yet no clear evidence of the subsistence of the people at Burzahom although it appears that hunting played an important part in their economy. The absence of seeds leads one to believe that there is no positive evidence of the cultivation of cereals but the presence of grindstones in almost every house (Allchins, 1983 : 112) indicates the presence of cereals in their diet. Animal bones from the kitchen middens suggest that hunting and fishing was practised. Remains of pigs, wagner (Kashmir stag), *nilgai* and domestic sheep have been found from Period I. Period II has yielded bones of dog, sheep-goat, humped cattle and buffalo—all of the domesticated variety. The wild animals include the wolf and the Kashmir stag.

Excavations at Gufkral have yielded more evidence of the subsistence pattern of the Neolithic man in Kashmir. This excavation has brought to light

---

Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. 34, Nos. 3-4, March-June 1985 issue, pp. 249 to 252.

* Banaras Hindu University, Varanasi

remains of an aceramic stage, unknown so far from the Indian sub-continent (although its presence at Burzahom had been suspected by Dr. R. K. Pant one of the excavators of the site (Agrawal, 1982 : 103). The inhabitants of the aceramic state were either collecting and/or had started cultivation in a limited area. Some grains of wheat, six row barley, lentil, Masur and a kind of weedy plant have been obtained by floatation technique and are currently under study (Sharma, 1979-80 : 21). Therefore at the present we are not quite sure whether the earliest inhabitants difinitely practised agriculture. An important observation made by Sharma is that in Kashmir valley wheat, barley and lentil had much earlier antiquity than rice which is the staple food of Kashmiris today (Sharma 1979-80 : 22). The latter crop seems to have been introduced only in period II (Megalithic culture) at this site. The faunal remains from the aceramic stage (Period I A) indicates that the inhabitants were primarily dependent on wild game and domesticated only a select variety (sheep and goat). The hunted animals included wild sheep, wild goat, cattle, red deer, wolf and Himalayan ibex,

Period I B at Gufkral was marked by the introduction of handmade pottery and witnessed a sudden spurt in domestication of animals like sheep, goat and cattle. Wild sheep, goat and cattle continued to be hunted but in far lesser percentage. There was a marked reduction in the percentage of bones of wolf. However, the presence of bones of red deer, ibex and bear indicates that hunting was still the main source of food. All the grains of previous sub-period continued in Period I B as well and the common pea was added to the menu.

The domestication of animals was complete in Period IC at Gufkral The entire herd of sheep, goat and cattle were domesticated. Besides, two important new species namely pig and fish made their appearance. All the grains found in the preceding sub-period were recovered from Period IC also.

Discussion :

Some scholars hold that Burzahom Neolithic was a "relict culture in a refuge area" (Randhawa, 1980 : 216) largely because it was, until recently, an isolated site located in a remote valley, quite unrelated to the well-defined Neolithic cultures in different parts of this sub-continent. However, this need not necessarily by the case. Exploration in the Kashmir valley itself have brought to light nine other sites of Burzahom Culture in the terraces of the Jhelum river between Anantnag and Pampur (Agrawal, 1982 : 98) and the excavation of at least one of them (Gufkral) has yielded corroborative evidence obtained earlier from Burzahom. Besides explorations conducted by Mohapatra (1978 : 20-23) have brought to light fifteen sites yielding stone celts, ring-stones and grinding stones. These sites are located in Jummu sub-Himalaya, Kangra Valley and in the Nalagarh-Pinjore *dun* in Himachal Pradesh, in the Hoshiyarpur Siwalik Range in the Punjab and on the outer slopes of the Siwalik Frontal Range near Chandigarh. These sites have been grouped under the "Siwalik Neolithic Culture" by Mohapatra. None of these sites has been excavated so far, but probably the Allchins are right in holding the view that the Kangra group also belongs to the Neolithic Culture of Kashmir (Allchins : 1983 : 113).

As noted above, Gufkral has yielded an aceramic stage of Neolithic culture and its existence had been suspected at Burzahom. Apart from several sites in western Asia (Singh, 1974) where such a stage has been well-documented the nearest parallel comes from Aq Kupruk in Afghanistan and Mehrgarh in Baluchistan. Aq Kupruk is located in the hills south of the famous town of Mazar-i Sharif. Here, the sequence of Neolithic cultures includes an aceramic complex followed by a ceramic complex. The aceramic level has been further sub-divided into phases A, earlier, and B, later. A similar situation obtains at Mehrgarh on the Kachi plain (Jarrige, 1980 : 122 ff). However, the radio-carbon dates of both Burzahom and Gufkral are very late as compared to the dates proposed for Aq Kupruk and Mehrgarh. Thus the chronological position of the Kashmir Neolithic and indeed that of the whole sub-continent does not fit in the general pattern of such cultures either in western Asia or Southeast Asia. The only high radiocarbon date of Koldihwa in the Vindhyan range, needs corroboration from other sites in India and Pakistan.

References

1. Agrawal, D. P. *The Archaeology of India*, Curzon Press Ltd. London, 1982.
2. Allchin, B. & Allchin, F. R. *The Rise of Civilization in India and Pakistan*, Select Book Service Syndicate, New Delhi, 1983.
3. De Terra, H and Paterson, T. T. *Studies on the Ice Age in India and Associated Human Cultures*, Washington, 1939.
4. Fairservis, W. A. *Excavations in the Quetta Valley West Pakistan*, Anthropological Papers of American Museum, New-York, 1956.
5. Jarrige, J. F. and Meadow, R. H. "The Antecedents of Civilization in the Indus Valley", *Scientific American*, Vol. 243, No. 2, August, 1980, pp. 122-133.
6. Mahopatra, G. C. "Neolithic of Western Sub-Himalaya". *Puratattva*, New Delhi, No. 10, 1978-79, pp. 20-24.
7. Randhawa, M. S. *A History of Agriculture in India*, Vol. I, Indian Council of Agricultural Research, New Delhi, 1980.
8. Sharma A. K. "Excavations at Gufkral", *Puratattva*, New Delhi, No. 11, 1979-80, pp. 19-25.
9. Sharma, G. R. *Beginnings of Agriculture*, Abinash Prakashan, Allahabad, 1980.

10. Singh, P. *Neolithic Cultures of Western Asia*, Seminar Press, London, 1974.

11. Singh, P. " Neolithic Culture of Northern and North Western India ", Paper read in the Seminar on Indian Prehistory, University of Allahabad, 1980, (in Press).

12. Verma, B. S. " Excavations at Chirand ", *Puratattva*, New Delhi, No. 4, (1970-71), pp. 19-23.

JOURNALISM IN ARABIC

By

MAQSOOD AHMAD *

The term journalism is believed to be derived from the French " Jour ", a day, and Journal (daily records of events), a newspaper or a diary.[1] According to another view held by Louis L' Snyder the term is derived from the French " Journee " (day of work) and in turn from the Latin " diurnalis " (daily or recurring every day) formed from di-es meaning " day ".[2] It does not matter whether it is derived from " Journee " or " Jour ". The term journalism, however, indicates, as is held in Webster's New Word Dictionary of the American Language, " the work of gathering news for writing, for editing or directing the publication of a newspaper or other periodical ".[3] The definition made seems to be correct in some sense but it cannot be regarded as comprehensive because with scientific researches and inventions, the usage of the term is day by day broadening. In recent years its usage has so broadened that it has included even news reporting and commentaries on radio and television, and to a lesser extent —the motion pictures.[4]

As regards the origin of journalism there is divergence of opinion in it. Some scholars ascribe it to Herodotus (485-425 B. C.) whom they consider to be the father of Journalism,[5] while some are of the view that it originated in 449 B. C. when the official records were deposited by the Senate in the temple of Ceres in Rome.[6] According to a commonly accepted fact, journalism came into existence at Rome in 60 B. C. when the Acta Diurna (Daily Acts) called also Acta Populi (Acts of the People), Acta Urbana (Municipal Acts) or Acta Publica (Public Acts), made appearance by order of Julius Caesar (100-40 B. C).[7] The Acta

---

Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. 34, Nos. 3-4, March-June, 1985 issue, pp. 253-262.

* Department of Persian, Urdu, Arabic, Faculty of Arts, M. S. University of Baroda, Baroda-390002.

[1] See *Great Soviet Encyclopaedia*, Vol. 9, London, 1975, p. 298, and *The New Caxton Encyclopaedia*. Vol. 11, London, 1977, p. 3452.

[2] See *Encyclopaedia Americana*, Vol. 16, New York, 1976, p. 218, and *The Universal English Dictionary*. London, 1961 p. 323.

[3] Vol. I, New York, 1964, p. 791.

[4] *Encyclopaedia Americana*, Vol. 16, New York, 1976, p. 218.

[5] *The New Caxton Encyclopaedia*, Vol. 14, London, 1977, p. 4375.

[6] *Collier's Encyclopaedia*, Vol. 17, New York, 1977, p. 444.

[7] See *Encyclopaedia Americana* Vol. 1, 1976, p. 122. *Everyman's Encyclopaedia*, Vol. 9, London, 1958, p. 215, *The New Columbia Encyclopaedia*, Columbia.

was an official organ carrying all kinds of news of common interests such as abstracts of speeches made in the Senate, the Forum or the Courts, the news of latest wars, legal decisions, political events, births, deaths, murders, accidents, marriages and divorces as well as interviews. All the news was gathered by the people or rather reporters who were employed by the State. The Acta which was not printed but written out and was hung at public places in Rome ceased publication after the Emperor Severus.[8]

The first printed newspaper of which there is record was the Ti-Chau (The Peking Gazzette) in China; it appeared during T'ang dynasty in the seventh or eighth century A.D.[9] In Europe, printed news was introduced after the invention of printing from movable metal type by John Gutenberg (1400-1468) in Maintz in 1440 A.D. or 1450 A.D According to one tradition, the first printed newspaper appeared at Nürnberg in 1457.[10] This was followed by small news-sheets which were issued in the form of letters in Ausburg, Vienna and Ratisbon in the same century. It was not until 1566, however, when the official Notizie Scritte were established at Venice by order of the Venetian Government, that a news sheet at all answering to present ideas was produced.[11] Another printed news sheet was Marcurius Gallo Belgicus which began to appear in Cologne in 1594. All these news sheets were not published regularly but occasionally. The first regularly published news sheet is, however, believed to have been the Avisa Relation Order Zeitung, founded in Germany in 1609, and the first man to print all the news of the day upon a single sheet in a regular weekly was Nathaniel Butter who brought out the weekly news in 1622.[12] The English language news-

---

University Press, 1975, p. 1433, and *Collier's Encyclopaedia*, Vol. 17, New York, 1977, p. 444. In *Hutchinson's New 20th Century Encyclopaedia* E. M. Horsely has given Caesar's dates of birth and death as (102-44 B C.). See, London, 1970, p. 193.

[8] See *The New Caxton Encyclopaedia*, Vol. 14, London, 1977, p. 4375. There were two Severuses in Rome, one being Severus Lucius Septimius (146 A.D.-211 A.D,) and the other Alexander Severus (208 A.D.-235 A.D.). Although it is not clear which Severus the author actually means yet it appears that by Severus he perhaps implies the great Emperor Severus Lucius Septimius.

[9] *Collier's Encyclopaedia*, Vol. 17, New York, 1977, p. 444.

[10] *Encyclopaedia Americana*, Vol. 16, New York, 1976, p. 219.

[11] At first they were not printed but written out and exhibited in various public places, anyone being permitted to read them on payment of the small coin called a " gazetta ". From this, these journals acquired the title of gazette. See, *Chambers's Encyclopaedia*, Vol. 7. Philadelphia, 1908, pp. 472-73.

[12] *Collier's Encyclopaedia*, Vol. 17, New York, 1977, p. 444, and *Everyman's Encyclopaedia*, Vol. 9, London, 1958, p. 215.

pepar dates from 1620 when some news sheets got printed in Amsterdam whence they were shipped to England, where the beginning of news printing was marked on Dec. 20, 1620, with the publication of a news sheet by George Veseler. The London News Gazette (1665) is credited with having been the earliest regularly issued paper while " The Daily Caurant " which was begun on March 11, 1720 shares the honour of being the first English daily newspaper. In France journalism started with the Gazette in 1631. The Journal de Paris, begun in 1777, was the first French daily newspaper.

Into the Arab land journalism was introduced by Napolean Bonaparte who invaded Egypt in 1798. In Egypt which can be regarded as the birth place of Arabic journalism, there were established two French newspapers, i.e , La Decade Egyptinne (al-usharab-al-Misriyah) and Le Courrier d ' Egypte (Baridu Misr). The former which was issued after every ten days was a economico-scientific newspaper containing reports of researches made by the members of the Scientific Society founded by order of Napolean Bonaparte, and the latter was a government organ issued after every four days in connection with the French invasion of Egypt. Though these two French newspapers did not survive for a long time, vanishing with the retreat of Napolean from Egypt in 1801, they however paved the way for Arabic journalism which was actually born in 1822 when the " Khedivial Journal "[13] was issued in the time of Muḥammad ‘Alī Pāshā who, having driven out the French forces from Egypt in 1801, occupied the throne of Egypt as governor in 1805. The journal which carried the official news and certain stories of the Arabian Nights was published both in Turkish and Arabic. It was followed in 1828, by " al-Waqāiul Miṣrīyah " (The Egyptian Events) which was in th beginning published only in Turkish then in Turkish and Arabic both and sometimes later in Arabic alone. Ab Waqai‘ which was published thrice a week was an official newspaper and was edited by prominent literary figures of that time, like Shaykh Ḥasan al-‘Aṭṭār, Mukhtar Bak, Aḥmad Fāris al-Shidyaq, Sayyid Shihābuddīn, Shaykh Rifā‘ah al-Ṭahṭāwī, Shaykh Muḥammed ‘ Abduhu, Shaykh Ahmad ‘Abdul Rahim and others. Al-Waqā‘i‘ whose publication remained suspended between 1849 and 1863, and whose main reason lay in ‘ Abbās I (1849 to 1854) and Sáīd (1854—1863) having been averse to modernization and its means, is issued even to-day. In the reign of Ismā‘īl (1863—1879) who was a liberal patron of modern arts and sciences there appeared many newspapers, magazines and periodicals whose number was not less than sixteen of which ten were in Arabic.[14] To the best of our knowledge the "Wādī-al-Nīl" was the first (next to the monthly medical magazine "al-Ya'sūb" which appeared in 1865) political newspaper established in the time of Ismā'īl at Cairo in 1867 by 'Abdullah Abū Sá'ūd (died in 1870). The Wādī-al-Nīl which was begun to support Ismāīl's policies against the Turkish Sultan was issued twice a week. It continued its publication until 1883 when the government imposed ban on it. Some years later, however, a descendant of 'Abdullah Abu Sa'ūd named Muḥammad restarted it under the title of "Rauḍah-al-Akhbār" (garden of news). It was followed by the weekly "Nuzhatul Afkār" (stroll of thoughts) which was founded again at Cairo in 1889 by Ibrāhīm Muwailiḥī and Muḥammad 'Uthmān Jalāl. But unfortunately only two issues of it could be published. In 1872 another newspaper "al-Kaukab-al Sharqī" (the Eastern Star) was begun by Salīm al-Hamawī in Alexandria. The year 1875 witnessed the appearance of "al-Ahrām" (the Pyramids), one of the most distinguished Arabic newspapers. "Al-Ahrām" which is still the best Egyptian daily was established by Salīm Taqlā (1849—1892) and his brother Bishārah (1852-1911) in Alexandria in 1875 and was moved to Cairo in 1892. It continued under the Taqla family until the Egyptian revolution of 1952 when it came under government control.[15] The year 1877 in which the Russo-Turkish war broke out, proved highly favourable for the progress of Arabic Journalism. The war, as says Richmond, stimulated interest in public events throughout the Muslim World and a number of periodicals were started at about this time. In Egypt at least four newspapers—the first coptic newspaper, "al-Waṭan" founded by Mikhāil Āfindī 'Abdus Sayyid, the weekly "Miṣr" (Egypt) and the daily "al-Tijārah" established in Cairo and Alexandria respectively by Adīb Isḥāq and Salīm Naqqāsh and "Abū Naḍḍārah" begun by an Egyptian Jew named James Sanu who had also set up an Egyptian theatre in 1870—made their appearance. Al-Waṭan was a political cum national newspaper whose main objective was to achieve freedom. Its name which is roughly equivalent to "La Patric", signified its adherence to the slogan of "Abū Naḍḍārah"—Egypt is for the Egyptians.[16] "Miṣr" and al-Tijārah" were banned by Riyāḍ Pāshā for their anti-government policies. As a result of which Adīb Isḥāq (1856—1885) migrated to Paris, where he started "al-Qāhirah" probably in 1880. With the change in political conditions, Adīb was again called to Egypt and was permitted to restart the publication of "Miṣr" (Egypt). The Abu Naḍḍārah was an anti-government comic newspaper.[17] In it Sanū 'began to publish a sort of Egyptian "punch", a comic and critical commentary on current events, and he was soon obliged to leave Egypt, but he continued his publication

---

[13] It was preceded by a propaganda sheet entitled " al-Tanbih " published in Arabic by Napolean Bonaparte. Its editor was Sayyid Ismāīl at Khashshāb. The sheet can be called, as Hitti claims, a newspaper only by courtesy. See, Hitti, P.K., *Labanon in History*, London. 1957, p. 465.

[14] See Stewart, Desmond ; *Young Egypt*, London, 1958, pp. 62-63.

---

[15] See, *Encyclopaedia Americana*, Vol. 9, New York, 1972, pp. 38m-38n.

[16] Richmond J. C. B; *Egypt* (1798-1952), London, 1977, p. 116.

[17] It had the honour of having been the first Arabic Comic newspaper.

Abū Naḍḍārah in Paris, first attacking Ismā'īl then Taufīq and the English.[18] In 1879 Adīb Isḥāq and Salīm Naqqāsh founded in Alexandria still another newspaper " al-Maḥrūsah " which might have probably suspended publication after the migration of Adīb Ishāq to Paris in 1880. One of the most distinguished and influential daily newspapers of Arabic was " al-Muqaṭṭam " which was founded by Ya'qūb Ṣarrūf (1852-1927) and Fāris Nimr (1854-1952) at Cairo in 1889. Being Christian and Pro British it was not liked by the Moslems, but they used to read it for its valuable news-service and articles.[19] It enjoyed probably the largest circulation of any Arabic Newspaper having been read all over North Africa, in Arabia, in Turkey, in India, in Persia, by Eastern Communities in Europe, in South Africa, in Australia, in the United States.[20] It ceased to be published in 1952. Other leading newspapers include the daily al-Zamān (1882), " al-Muqīm " (1888), the daily " al-Mùayyid " (1889) started by Álī Yūsuf and Shaykh Aḥmad Maḍi, " al-Liwā' " (1900) by Musṭafā Kāmil, al-Jumburiyah the government organ and al-Akhbar, two deilies al-Balāgh and al-Asàs, the weeklies al-Burhan, al-Bayān, Mirat-al-sharq etc.

Side by side with newspapers, there were also issued several magazines in Arabic in Egypt. The monthly medical nagazine " al-Ya'sūb " first of its kind in the Arab East merits mentioning here. Al-Ya'sūb which was started by Dr. Muhammad 'Ali al-Baqli and Dr. Ibrāhīm al-Dasūqī in 1865 did not survive long. It was not long, however, before it had a sister. In 1870 'Allāmah 'Alī Mubārak founded the fortnightly " Majallah Rauḍah-al-Madāris " whose editorship was entrusted to Rifā'ah al-Ṭahṭāwī (1801-1873). In its first issue Rifaah published an article in which he explicitly explained the main objectives of the magazine and the steps to be taken by it in order to achieve its goal. The Raudah-al-Madāris played a key role in serving Arabic language and reviving its literature. Among its most prominent contributors were 'Abdullah Fikrī, Ismā'īl al-Falaki, Muḥammad Qadri, Shaykh 'Uthmān and others. It survived until 1878, paving the way for modern journalism in Arabic. In 1886 " al-Muqtaṭaf " (choice selections)[21] moved from Bairut where it was established in 1876 by Yaqub Sarruf (1852-1927) and Faris Nimr (1854-1952) to Cairo. It was devoted to the popularization of modern sciences, natural and social, which served as an instrument for spreading the theories of Darwinian and Spencerian evolution[22]. Yet another noteworthy magazine is " al-Hilāl " (the crescent), it was founded by Jurjī Zaidān (1861—1914) at Cairo in 1892. Among other important magazines are "Majallah-al-Majma-al-Ilmī-al-Arabiy", al-Adīb, al-Kitāb, al-Jarīdah, al-Risālah, al-Shifā (1886), al-Huqūq (1886), al-Ustādh (1892) of Abdullah Nadim, al-Fatā (1892) founded by Iskandar Shalhūb, al-Fatāt established by Hind Naufil (the first newspaper or magazine started by a lady in Arabic Journalism).

---

[18] See Richmond J. C. B; *Egypt* (1798-1952), London, 1977, pp. 115-116.

[19] See Fyfe, H. Hamilton; *The New Spirit in Egypt*, London, 1911, p. 117.

[20] *Ibid*.

[21] Its name was suggested by Van Dyke, teacher of Ṣarrūf and Nimr.

[22] Safran, Nadav; *Egypt in Search of Political Community*, (London, 1961). p. 58.

Next to Egypt was Turkey where Arabic journalism began in 1854 when Rizqullah Ḥassūn al-Ḥalabī started at Constantinople a political weekly "Mirātul Aḥwāl" (the mirror of the present conditions)[23]. The weekly carried the news of the war between Russia and Turkey, those of Syria and Lebanon and critical commentary on the actions of Ottoman rulers. It was, therefore, soon suppressed by the Turkish censorship. In 1857 another newspaper "al-Salṭanah" was established by Iskandar Shalhūb in Constantinople. It was followed by "al-Jawāib which was founded by Aḥmad Fāris al-Shidyā who shares the honour of having been the first to use "Jarīdah" for a newspaper[24] again in Constantinople in 1860. It survived until 1883 when it ceased publication. It was also political weekly which commanded a wide circulation in the Arab world.

In Syria, Arabic journalism was begun by Khalil al-Khuri in 1858, when he founded at Bairut "Ḥadīqah-al-Akhbār". It was first named "al-Fajr-al-Munīr" and was the first Arabic newspaper to be issued from an Arab country. All the Arabic newspaper issued before it, were published from Turkey, (orchard of news)[25]. The Ḥadīqah which was the only publication in Syria was used by Fuād Pāshā for reports and statements concerning the 1860 troubles. Francho Pasha made it the official journal pending the suspension of Lubnān. It survived as a private enterprise till 1911.[26] In 1860 Buṭrus al-Bustānī (1819-1883) founded at Bairut a small weekly "Nafīru Sūriyah" (clarion of Syria). Through this weekly al-Bustānī tried his level best to wash off the sense of hatred from the minds of the Moslems and Christians against each other, remove communal feelings and sow the seeds of brotherhood in their hearts after the upheaval of 1860 in which both the communities—Moslem and Christian—suffered great casualties and monetary loss. In the same year his son, Salim al-Bustānī (1847-1884) also began "al-Jannah". In 1866, the Americans founded "al-Naṣrah", a religious political which has since changed its periodicity and name but maintained its circulation.[27] Four years later the Jesuits matched it with their "al-Bashir" (the glad tidings announcer), which evolved into an influential organ with wide coverage of social and political news.[2] It ceased to be published in 1947. In 1870 Bairut had the first ever Arabic daily "al-Junaynah" (the Garden) established by Salīm al-Bustānī. In the following year the two more newspapers, Kaukab-al-ṣubḥ-al-Munīr and al-Najāḥ were started. "Thamarātul Funūn" was yet another famous newspaper which appeared in 1875. It was the first ever Islamic newspaper established in Syria. One of the oldest surviving newspaper is "Lisān-al-Ḥāl" (the tongue of the present situation) founded in 1877 at Bairut by Khalil Sarkīs.[29] Some other most important newspapers were "al-Muqtabas" which later became "al-Qabas", Alif Bā, Fatal Arab, Sūriyā (1865), al-Furāt (1867) Lubnān (1867), Taqaddum (1874), al-Miṣbāḥ founded by Niqula al-Naqqāsh in Syria 1880 etc.

---

[23] See Hitti, P. K; *Lebanon in History*, London, 1975, p. 465 and *The New Caxton Encyclopaedia* Vol. 1, London, 1977, p. 302.

[24] See Hitti P. K; *Lebanon in History*, London, 1957, p. 455. Before this, it was called al-Ṣāḥīfah, al-Nashrah, al-Waraquh-al-Khabariyah, al-Waqai etc. and the word "majallah" was suggested for scientific and literary papers.

[25] See Al-Fākhūri, Hanna; *Tarikh-al-Adab-al-Arabiy*, sixth edition, Bairut, p. 910, Hitti P. K.; *Lebanon in History* London, 1957, p. 464, and Hitti, P. K.; *History of the Arabs*, London, 1972, p. 748.

[26] Hitti, P. K; *History in Lebanon*, London, 1957, p. 465.

[27] *Ibid.*

In addition to newspapers there also appeared magazines in Arabic in Syria like Egypt. One of the distinguished magazines which deserve special mention was "al-Janān"[30]. Al-Janān, a fortnightly political and literary review was founded by Buṭrus al-Bustānī at Bairut in 1870. Its main purpose was, again, as George Antonius says in his "Arab Awakening"[31], to fight fanaticism and preach understanding and unity for the sake of national welfare. In the same year two other magazines i.e. al-Naḥlah and al-Ja'bah were begun respectively in Bairut and Dar'ūn (Lebanon). The year 1876 witnessed the establishment of "al-Muqtaṭaf" in Bairut by Ya'qūb Ṣarrūf and Fāris Nizar whose menton has already been made. Ten years later it moved to Egypt as mentioned earlier. Still another magazine "al-Ṭabīb" had its start at Bairut in 1877.

Irāq had its first newspaper in 1868 when "al-Zaurā" saw the light at Baghdad. In Tunisia, Arabic Journalism began with the foundation of the government organ "al-Haid-al-Tūnisī" in 1861. One of the most important countries where Arabic Journalism is gradually flourishing is Algeria. Most leading daily newspapers of Algeria are "al-Shab", and "al-Naṣr". Two newspapers which are published both in Arabic and French, are "al-Mujtabid" in Algiers and La Republique in Oran.

The Arabic journalism did not remain confined to the Arab countries but it reached all parts of the world as well particularly through Lebanese emigrants.

---

[28] *Ibid.*

[29] *Ibid.*

[30] Its motto was "Patriotism is an article of faith".

[31] London, 1945, p. 50.

In Paris there appeared in 1857 " Barjīs Bārīs " of Rushaid al-Daḥdāḥ. Another newspaper was " al-Qāhirah ", established by Adīb Isḥaq in Paris perhaps in 1880. One of the Major Arabic reviews published from Paris was " al-Urwab-al-Uthqī " (The Most Firm Bond). It was founded by Jamāl Uddin al-Afghānī (1839—1897) and Shaikh Muḥammad Abduhu (1849—1905). This reformist, pan Islamic, revolutionary review was, however, shut down only after eighteen issues. In London, Ya'qūb Ṣanū' founded " Miratul Aḥwāl " in 1876. The U.S.A. had its first Arabic newspaper in 1892 when Dr. Ibrāhīm and Najīb started " Kaukabu Amrīka " (the star of America) from New York, It was followed by " al-Hudā " which was established by Naúúm Mukarzil in 1898. Still another newspaper was " Mirat-al-gharb " which saw the light in 1899. Besides, there were also issued several literayy magazines which included " al-Funūn " founded by Nasīb 'Arīḍah in New York in 1913, " al-Sā'ih " established by 'Abdul Masīh Haddad also in New York, " al-Samīr " (1929) of Ilyā Abū Māḍī, monthly " al-Andalus-al-Jadidah " (1935) and " al-Sharq " (1955) of Mūsā Karīm. The last two magazines were published from Brazil. To day the U.S.A. boasts more than two hundred and fifty newspapers.

To sum up, journalism was carried as seen above, to the Arab land by Napolean Bonaparte in 1798, when he invaded Egypt. In addition to the foundation of two earlier mentioned French newspapers in Egypt, there was also published a propaganda sheet in Arabic, which, as Prof. Hiti asserts, can be called a newspaper only by courtesy. The Arabic journalism, however, actually dates from the Khedivial Journal founded in 1822 by order of Muḥammad 'Alī Pāshā. It was followed by " al-waqā'iúl Miṣrīyah " in 1828. Ih the periods of 'Abbās I and Sa'īd journalism could make no progress but instead suffered greatly, because of their anti-modernist policy. The only newspaper " al-Waqā'iúl Miṣrīyah " remained suspended from 1849 to 1863 when Ismā'īl came to power, and modernist movement was revived. In the reign of Ismā'īl there was established a number of newspapers and journals of which at least ten were in Arabic. The number of newspapers and journals afterwards continued to increase in Egypt. A part of credit for it goes to the liberal censorship policy of the British who occupied Egypt in 1882. Twenty-six years after the foundation of " al-Waqā'i' " an Aleppine Rizqullah Ḥassūn issued in Constantinople " Mirātul Aḥwāl " (the mirror of the present conditions). One of the major newspapers of Turkey worth mentioning was " al-Jawā'ib " started by Aḥmad Fāris al-Shidyāq also in Constantinople in 1860. In Turkey, Arabic journalism which the Ottoman emperors consider peril to their empire was very soon suppressed by them. The only country where it made considerable progress was Syria which had its first newspaper in 1858 when Khalīl Khūri started at Bairut " Ḥadīqah-al-Akhbār ". Afterwards, there was started a number of newspapers, journals and periodicals whose mention has already been made. It was not long, hdwever, that censorship on press was imposed by the Ottoman rulers. As a result Lebanese Christian journalists and intellectuals migrated to Egypt where they and their descendants did much for the growth of Arabic journalism. And it was they who carried Arabic Journalism even to European countries like America, Great Britain and France. According to the census of Ṭarrāzi-historian of the Arabic press-undertaken in 1929, there were 3023 Arabic papers and periodicals, extant and extint, of which the United States share was 268 while Great Britain claimed 14.[32] The growth and development of Arabic Journalism which had a far reaching effect in Arabic speaking countries thus played a vital role in awakening the Arabs to patriotism and nationalism and transferring the Western culture, social and political orders as well as scientific researches and inventions to the East on the one hand and reviving the Arabic language and literature on the other.

Bibliography

1. Lacouture, Simonne & Jean; *Egypt in Transition*, London, 1958.
2. Richmond J. C. B.; *Egypt*, (1798-1959), London, 1977.
3. Young, George; *Egypt*, London, 1927.
4. Fyfe, Hamilton, H.; *The New Spirit in Egypt*, London, 1911.
5. Stewart, Desmond; *Young Egypt*, London, 1958.
6. Colvin, Auckland; *The Making of Modern Egypt*, London, 1906.
7. Safran, Nadav; *Egypt in Search of Political Community*, Harvard University Press, 1961.
8. Dodwell, Henry; *The Founder of Modern Egypt*, Cambridge University Press, London, 1931.
9. Bey M. Rifaat; *The Awakenning of Modern Egypt*, London, 1947.
10. Al-Fākhūrī, Ḥannā; *Tārikh-al-Adab-al-'Arabiy*, sixth edition, Bairut.
11. Al-Dasūqī, 'Umar; *Fi-al-Adab-al-Hadīth*, Bairut, 1966.
12. Al-Jā'isī, Ḥabīb Aḥmad; *Āfāq-i-Jadīdah*, Allāhābād, 1976.
13. Aḥmad, Maqṣood; *The Beginnings and Development of Drama in Arabic*, Allāhābād, 1981.
14. Antonius, George; *The Arab Awakening*, London, 1945.
15. Hitti, P. K.; *History of the Arabs*, London, 1972.

---

[32] The greatest share in this respect was of Lebanon (Syria) where, despite the suppression order in the latter part of the 19th century, 426 papers and periodicals had seen the light by 1929, with Bairut boasting 294.

See Hitti, P. K.; *Lebanon in History*, London, 1957, p. 465.

16. Hitti, P. K.; *Lebanon in Hisory*, London, 1957.
17. *Encyclopaedia Americana*, Vol. 1216 & 19, New York, 1976.
18. *Collier's Encyclopaedia*, Vol. 17, New York, 1977.
19. *Chambers's Encyclopaedia*, Vol. 7, Philadelphia, 1908.
20. *Everyman's Encyclopaedia*, Vol. 9, London, 1950.
21. *The New Columbia Encyclopaedia*, Columbia University Press, 1975.
22. *Great Soviet Encyclopaedia*, Vol. 9, London, 1975.
23. *World University Encyclopaedia* Vol. 8, New York, 1969.
24. *The New Caxton Encyclopaedia*, Vol. 11 & 14, London, 1977.
25. *Pears Encyclopaedia*, London, 1978-79.
26. *The Columbia Encyclopaedia*, Columbia University Press, Vol. 1, 1963.
27. *Compton's Pictured Encyclopaedia* Vol. 3, Chicago, 1956.
28. *The New Century Cyclopaedia of Names*, Vol. 1, New York, 1954.
29. *Hutchinson's New 20th Century Encyclopaedia*, London, 1970.
30. *The Rutledge Dictionary of People*, New York, 1981.
31. *The Universal English Dictionary*, London, 1961.
32. *Webster's New World Dictionary of the American Language*, Vol. 1, New York 1964
33. Zaidān Jurjī, *Tārīkhu Ādāb-al-lught-al-'Arabīyah*, Vol. 4, Bairut.

SELECT CONTENTS OF ORIENTAL JOURNALS

By

P. H. Joshi*

Brahmavidyā, The Adyar Library Bulletin, Adyar Library and Research Centre, The Theosophical Society, Adyar, Madras 600 020

Vol. 48, 1984

Rayan, Krishna : Lakṣaṇā Metaphoric and Metonymic

Sarma, K. V. : Brahmapurī, The Scholar's Village Established by Maharaja Sawai Jaisingh

Warrier, A. G. : Krisna : God in the Bhagvadgītā

Ingalalli, Rachappa I. : The Concept of Viṣayatā in Navya-Nyāya

Rajendran, C. : The Concept of Form in Sanskrit Poetics

Kunjunni Raja, K. : The Problem of the Kunt(al)eśvaradautya

Sarma, E. R. Sreekrishna : Maṇḍana and Sureśvara

Unithiri, N. V. P. : Svarṇagrāma Vāsudeva's Mantravimśinī Commentary on Nārāyaṇa's Tantrasārasaṁgraha

Krishan, Y. : The Doctrine of Karman, Daiva and Puruṣārtha

India International Centre Quarterly, India International Centre, 40 Max-Mueller Marg, New Delhi 110003

Vol. 12, No. 2, June 1985

Guha, Dina S. : Food in the Vedic Tradition

Bhattacharya, France : Food Rituals in the 'Chandi Mangala' translated by Sharma, Radha (from French)

Jaina Siddhānta Bhāskara and the Jaina Antiquary, Shri Devkumar Jain Oriental Research Institute, Jain Siddhant Bhavan, Arrah, Bihar

Vol. XXXVII, No. 2, December 1984

Jain, Sunita : Jaina Vañmaya meṁ Guru-Śiṣya kī Avadhāraṇā (Hindi)

Kasturchandra 'Suman' : Eka Mahatvapūrṇa Aprakāśita Apabhraṁśa Racanī Amarasenacariu (Hindi)

Lishk, Sajjan Singh : On Karaṇas in Jaina Calendar

Jain, Jyoti Prasad : Jaina Authors and Their Works

Tiwari, Vinod Kumar : Royal Patronage to Jainism in Post Asoka Maurya Period

---

Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. 34. Nos. 3-4, March-June 1985 issue, pp. 263 to 267.

* Oriental Institute, M. S. University of Baroda, Baroda

Journal of Dharma, Dharma Research Association, Centre for the Study of World Religions, Dharmaram College, Bangalore, 560029

Vol. X, No. 2, April-June 1985

Ponnu, R. : Vaikunda Swami—A Case Study of Socio-Religious Awakening in South India

(The) Journal of Oriental Research, Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute, Mylapore, Madras 600 004

Vols. XXXX-XXXXI, Parts I. IV, 1970-72

Silver Jubilee Volume

Gonda, J : Karman and Retributive Justice in Ancient India
Hara, M. : Utsāha
Kantawala, S. G. : The Story of the Birth of Pāṇḍavas
Sharma, B. N. K. : Out-Śaṁkaring Śaṁkara
Devasthali, G. V. : Pāṇini and Ṛgvedic Interpretation
Deshpande, Madhav : Pāṇini and Pāṇiniyas on Dialectal Variation in Sanskrit
Kulkarni E. D. : Contribution of Bhoja to Lexicography
Varadachari, V. : Śastraic References in the Jānakīharaṇa
Kunjunni Raja, D. K. : Umveka Bhaṭṭa
Kedilaya, A. S. : Jagannātha Dāsa—A Study
Venkatachalam, V. : Two Untraced Citations in Brahmasūtrabhāṣya of Śankarācārya
Swaminathan, V. : On Auṁkāra—Maṇḍana Miśra and Śaṅkarācārya
Sundaram, P. K. : The Impossibility of Sublation of the Illusion in the Satkhyātivāda
Misra, Satyadeva : Bhartṛprapañca—A Vedāntin of Pre-Śaṅkara Era
Nakamura, H : The Concept of Brahman in Bhartṛhari's Philosophy
Matilal, B. K : Ālayavijñāna, Transmigration and Absolution
Yamaguchi, Eshoo : The Concept of Puruṣa in the Sānkhya System of Philosopy

Journal of the Asiatic Society, Asiatic Society, 1 Park Street, Calcutta 16

Vol. XXIII, Nos. 1-2, 1981

Ghosal, S. N. : The Kalawān Copper Plate Inscription
Ghosal, S. N. : Theodoros Inscription on Some Coins of Eukratides
Brandt, Michael : Santoṣī Mātā—A New Hindu Goddess
Banerjee, Manabendu : Padmagupta's Navasahasāṅkacarita and the Paramāra Dynasty of Malava
Ray, Pranab : Tradition of Temple Builders of Midnapur

Mujumdar, Pradip Kumar : Bijagaṇitam of Bhāskara II and the Continued Fraction

Bhattacharyya, D. C. : Geographical Gleanings from the Tantric Buddhist Manuscripts

Mukherjee, B. N. : A Note on the Name Kharoshṭhī

Mukherjee, B. N. : New Light on the History of the Kushaṇa Period

Vol. XXVI, Nos. 1-4, 1984

Ghosal, S. N. : The Birth of Maṅkhaliputta Gosāla

Ghosal, S. N. : Sārnath Buddhist Image Inscriptions of Kaniṣka-I Year 3

Satyavati, S. K. : Śivabhāratam of Kavīndra Paramānanda as a Historical Kāvya

Sircar, D. C. : Inscription of Aulikara Prakāśadharman of Daśapura, 512 A.D.

Mukherjee, B. N. : An Enigmatic Kharoṣṭhī Inscription

Mukherjee, B. N. : An Interesting Icon in a Cave at Yun-Kang (Shensi, China)

Acharya, Suchitra (Roy) : An Emendation in the Text of a Verse in the Rāvaṇavaho

Journal of the Indian Musicological Society, Indian Musicological Society, Jambu Bet, Dandia Bazzar, Baroda.

Vol. 15, No. 1, June 1984

Tarlekar, G. H. : The Saman Chants—A Review of Research

Journal of the Oriental Institute, Oriental Institute, M. S. University of Baroda, Baroda

Vol. XXXIV, No. 1-2, September-December 1984

Dass, Ayodhya Chandra : The Origin of Brahmanical Image-worship and Icono-genic Properties in Ṛgveda

Kolhatkar, Madhavi : Punarabhiṣeka—A Precursor of Sautrāmaṇi

Singh, Tahsildar : Some Gleanings on Temple Architecture from Garuḍa-purāṇa

Bhattacharya, Biswanath ; On an Overlooked Problematic Reading in the Printed Text of the Vṛtti of Viśvanātha's Sāhitya-Darpaṇa

Lariviere, Richard : An Institution, designed to Control Potential Abuses of Ordeals in Classical Hindu Law—The Śiraḥ

Shah, U. P. : Minor Jaina Deities

Sandesara, B. J. : Some Important Vocables from the Dodhaka Vṛtti, a Sanskrit Gloss on the Apabramśa Quotations in the Prakrit Grammar of Hemachandra

Suryavamshi, Bhagawansingh : The Rathavas of Pancharahals

Agrawala R. C. : Gaṇeshwar Culture—A Review

Journal of the Tamil Studies, International Institute of Tamil Studies, Tamilnadu No. 24, December 1983

Raju Kalidas ; Trivikrama Mythology and Iconography

Sankaranarayanan, G. : Preparation of Administrative Terminology—The Role of Earlier Inscriptions and Records

Journal of the University of Bombay, University of Bombay, Fort, Bombay 400082 Vols. XLIX-LIII, Nos. 85-89, Oct. 1980-84

Paradkar, M. D. : Mahamahopadhyaya P. V. Kane on Muhūrtaśāstra and Astrology

Mehta, Geeta S. : Gandhi's Contribution to Indian Culture with Special Reference to Liberation (Mokṣa)

Kurukshetra University Research Journal, Kurukshetra University, Kurukshetra Vol. XVI-XVII, 1982-83

Madan, Lekhram : Yakṣoṁ kā Dhārmika evam Kalātmaka Mahatva (Hindi)

Juneja, Ved Prakash : Nātha Sāhitya meṁ Rasa Nirūpaṇa (Hindi)

Dass, Ayodhya Prasad : The Changing Phase of Sun-worship in the Yajurvedasaṁhitā

Purāṇa All India Kashiraj Trust, Fort, Ramnagar, Varanasi Vol. XXVII, No. 1, January 1985

Dr. R C. Hazra Commemoration Volume

Special Volume containing Puranic Articles by the late lamented Prof, R. C. Hazra

(1) An Aspect of Epic and Puraṇic Mythology
(2) The Aśvamedha, the Common Source of Origin of the Purāṇa Pañcalakṣaṇa and the Mahābhārata
(3) Did Vyāsa Owe His Origin to Berossus ?
(4) Purāṇic Liiterature as Known to Ballālasena
(5) Discovery of the Genuine Āgneya-purāṇa
(6) Studies in the Genuine Āgneya-purāṇa alias Vahni-purāṇa
(7) Text and Interpretation of a Verse of the Matsya-purāṇa
(8) The Śivadharmottara
(9) The Gaṇeśa-purāṇa
(10) Gaṇeśa-worship and the Upapurāṇas Dealing with It.
(11) Did Vallalasena Use the Liṅgapurāṇa in this Dānasāgara ?
(12) The Problems Relating to the Śiva-purāṇa
(13) The Śivadharma
(14) Purāṇas in the History of Smṛti

No. 2, July 1985

Hospital, Clifford G. : Rāvaṇa in Epic and Purāṇas
Mehta, R. N. and Jamindar, Rasesh : The Padmapurāṇa and Ahmedabad
Bhattacharya, Ram Shankar : Reason for the Bhāgavata View about the Upaveda of the Atharvaveda
Bonazzoli, Giorgio, : Considerations on a New Method of Critically Editing the Purāṇas

REVIEWS

The system of kṛt accentuation in Pāṇini and the Veda (पाणिनीये वेदे च कृत्स्वरपद्धतिः). by M. D. **Balasubrahmanyam**, Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapeetha, Tirupati, 1981. pp. 515 + xxxviii + xliv, Price; not given.

This is a slightly condensed and revised edition of the author's doctoral dissertation, submitted to the University of Poona in 1967. In the meantime, the author has published several studies based on the work (see pp. 490-491).

The book is divided into two main parts. The first (pp. ii-xliv) is an elaborate introduction in which Balasubrahmanyam not only deals with traditional approaches to his topic but also considers briefly (pp. xxvii-xxxvii) what modern scholars—including those whose major interest is the reconstruction of Proto-Indo-European—have had to say about Vedic accentuation and about Pāṇini's knowledge and description of the accentual system. Part two (pp. 1-402), which constitutes the bulk of the work, is divided into the following major sections : 1. Word-accent and Pāṇini's accentual principles (pp. 1-23), 2. The Pāṇinian position (pp. 27-246), 3. The Veda in Pāṇini (pp. 249-347). Balasubrahmanyam then (pp. 398-402) summarizes his general conclusions. The author then gives : an index verborum (pp. 403-488), divided into sections on non-Vedic vocables, Vedic vocables, and vocables common to *Chandas* and *bhāṣā*; a bibliography (pp. 489-510) of secondary literature, which supplements a list (pp. xxxviii preceding the Introduction) of ' Editions of original texts, dictionaries, indexes and their abbreviations '; and a set of corrections (pp. 511-515). A foreword by S. M. Katre (pp. ix-xi), the author's preface (pp. xiii-xvi), and a table of contents (pp. xvii-xxvi) complete this book.

On page xxxviii of his Introduction, Balasubrahmanyam states the general scope of his work as follows : The thesis has, as its main theme, the examination of the morphological role played by accent in Sanskrit apropos [sic !] of the Pāninian system of *Kṛt* suffixation. . A complete analysis of the KDs [= *Kṛt*-derivatives (GC)] made by means of 128 KPs [= *Kṛt-pratyayas* (GC)], listed by P. [= Pāṇini (GC)] in the third book of the *A* [*ṣṭādhyāyī*], shows how the opposition between an oxytone and a barytone has been put to use in order to distinguish between several morphological and derivational classes.

Furthermore, the thesis focusses [sic !] its attention on a few KDs in which accent may be said to be phonemically contrastive. Speaking in general linguistic

---

Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. 34, Nos. 3-4, March-June 1985 issue, pp. 269 to 282.

terms, the thesis gives an account of the synchronistic (chapter 2) and diachronistic (chapter 3) *Kṛt* Accentuation.

In general, the author has carried out his task with diligence, and he has produced a work which scholars may consult with profit. As might be expected, not all the conclusions reached are entirely novel. For example, Balasubrahmanyam concludes (p, 399), ' The *Bhāṣā* which P. speaks of in the *A* is an accentual language *sui generis* ' and, ' The Vedic facts presented in the thesis give us the additional strength to demonstrate the incontrovertible axiom that P. has drawn his Vedic materials from *first-hand experience* '. On the other hand, the author's suggestion (pp. 310, 399) that Pāṇini demonstrates acquaintance with the *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa* is indeed novel and worth considering seriously.

Balasubrahmanyam's prose style tends to be rather orotund and, in my opinion, may well be a source of difficulty, especially for Indian scholars. It is certainly unnecessary to toss in phrases like *au grand sérieux* (p. 7) or terms like *Hauptton* (e. g., p. 10) where simple English could as well be used and would convey the author's intended meaning more directly. In some instances, moreover, Balasubrahmanyam has, I think, skirted about issues without giving the reader an absolutely clear picture of difficulties. Consider, for example, what he says concerning the important Pāṇinian sūtra 6.1.158 : *Anudāttam Padamekavarjam*. On page 203, this rule is translated : ' With the exception of one (which is either the *udātta* or the *svarita*) the (remaining syllables of a) word (are) unaccented. ' In an earlier section of the book (pp. 7-17), Balasubrahmanyam considers the rule in connection with comparable statements from the *Vājasaneyi-prātiśākhya*. He cites the *Vājasaneyi-prātiśākhya* sūtras (2.1 : *Svaritavarjamekodāttam Padam*, 2.2 : *Anudāttam*) and translates (p. 8) : ' With the-exception of (the primary) *svarita*, a word (is the domain of) one (an only one) *udātta* (ii.1) (and the remaining syllables of the word are) *anudāttas* (ii. 2) '. Balasubrahmanyam goes on (p. 9) to cite from Uvaṭa's and Anantabhaṭṭa's comments on these rules and says : ' In view of the two commentatorial interpretations on *VPr.* ii. 1, the description of a Vedic word-accent is that each word, with the exclusion of the independent *svarita*, is the domain of a single *udātta*. Obviously, there is, in each word, but one vowel which has the/ ' / or the primary/ ' /, and the remaining syllables of the (disyllabic or polysyllabic) word are atonic '. Now, since Balasubrahmanyam specifies that the *svarita* referred to in VPr. 2.1 is ' primary ' and he speaks of ' independent ' *svarita* in this context, he obviously understands VPr. 2.1 to refer to what is called a *jātya svarita*; indeed, Balasubrahmanyam explicitly says (p. 10) : . .accordingly, a Vedic word has one *udātta* or a single *jātya-svarita* as its *Hauptton*, the remaining syllables of the word being *anudātta*. It is noteworthy, however, that neither of the commentaries on VPr. 2.1 explicitly specifies this particular kind of svarita. Thus, Anantabhaṭṭa says,

‘ एकं स्वरितं वर्जयित्वा पदमेकोदात्तं स्यात् । सर्वस्मिन्नेव पदे एकमक्षरे स्वरितं चोदात्तं वा भवति ’ ॥

In every word, one syllable (vowel) is either *svarita* or *udātta*. Anantabhaṭṭa does not say that the *svarita* in question is a *jātya svarita*. Nor does he restrict his examples of *svarita* elements to this type. In addition, VPr. 2.1 does not specify a *svarita's* being a main pitch (Hauptton). Moreover, in the formulation Balasubrahmanyam accepts, a *pada* would have only one vowel that is not low-pitched (*anudātta*) according to the *Vājasaneyi-prātiśākhya*, which does not accord with what this text says eleswhere. Thus, VPr. 1.111 : *Ekapade Nīcapūrvaḥ sayavo Jātyaḥ* says that a *svarita* is *jātya* if in a single *pada*, it is possibly preceded by a low-pitched segment and accompanied by *y* or *v* as in *kanyā*, *svaḥ*, and according to VPr. 1.117 : *svaro- vyañjanayutastairovyañjanaḥ* a *svarita* which occurs with a consonant, that is, which is separated from a preceding high-pitched vowel by a consonant, is a *tairovyañjana* segment, as in *iḍe* (voc. sg.). Clearly the *Vājasaneyi-prātiśākhya* itself acknowledges that a single *pada pāṭha* can have both an *udātta* and a *svarita* vowel. VPr. 2.1-2 can and should be interpreted in accordance with this leaving aside a *svarita* segment (*svaritavarjam*), a *pada* has one *udātta* (*Ekodāttam padam*) and otherwise has only *anudātta* segments. Pāṇini too must obviously recognize that *pada*s can indeed contain both *udātta* and *svarita* vowels.. Yet the interpretation of *Aṣṭādhyāyī* 6.1.158 usually adopted by Pāṇinīyas causes/involves difficulty in accounting for this. For example, in his *Siddhāntakaumudī* (*sūtra* 3650), Bhaṭṭoji paraphrases this rule as follows :

यस्मिन्पदे यस्योदात्तः स्वरितो वा विधीयते तमेकमचं वर्जयित्वा शेषं तत्पदमनुदात्ताच्कं स्यात ।

Excepting the one *udātta* or *svarita* which is provided for in a *pada*, the remainder of the *pada* shall have *anudātta* vowels. Now *Aṣṭādhyāyī* 8.4.66 : *udāttādanudattasya svaritah* lets a *svarita* vowel substitute for an *anudātta* vowel following an *udātta* segment. This should account not only for a *pada*-initial *svarita* in a sequence of *pada*s such as *Agnimīle* but also for a *pada*-internal *svarita* as in *tāmīśānāsaḥ*. If, however, 6.4.158 is a *paribhāṣā* governing the application of all such accentual rules, then, under the interpretation noted, 8.4.56 will not allow the high-pitched vowel *īśānāsaḥ*. Pāṇinīyas of course recognize the problem. For example, Bhaṭṭoji remarks, in his *Siddhāntakaumudī* (*sūtra* 3660) on *Aṣṭādhyāyī* 8.4.66, that this rule is suspended with respect to 6.1.158, so that the latter does not serve to make vowels other than the *svarita* provided for low-pitched : *Asyāpyasiddhatvāt śeṣanighāto na*. Yet this is not a very satisfactory solution. To be sure, by virtue of being stated in the *tripādī*, headed by *Aṣṭādhyāyī* 8.2.1 *-pūrvatrāsiddham-*, 8.4.66 is indeed suspended with respect to earlier rules. However, under the procedure generally followed, according to which *saṃjñāsūtras* and metarules apply concurrently with the rules whose application they serve to govern (*kāryakālam sajñāparibhāṣam*) 6 1.158 should be applicable with respect to 8.4.66, so that the problem persists. On the other hand, let us assume that *anudāttam* of 6.1.158 has its nontechnical (*laukika*) value, not its technical value, so that, instead of referring to a *pada* as having low-pitched vowels, the rule refers to a *pada* as not having high-pitched vowels. The *sūtra* then provides that a *pada* has no high-pitched segments excepting one vowel. Under this interpretation, the *paribhāṣā* simply excludes more than one high-pitched vowel (*udātta*) in a *pada*, and it allows a *pada* to have both this and *svarita* vowels. Patañjali was obviously aware of this possibility, which is mentioned in the *Mahābhāṣya* (Kielhorn's and Abhyankar's edition, III. 98.25-26). Balasubrahmanyam also alludes to this : Apparently, the rule admits of two interpretations : " Either : a word has no *udātta* but one. Or a word is *anudātta* except for one (vowel) " ; (p. 11, with Balasubrahmanyam's punctuation). Nevertheless, he does not, so far as I can see, follow up on the problem or make the issue perfectly clear to the reader.

Despite these and some other minor disagreements, I can say without hesitation that Balasubrahmanyam's work is a solid contribution to Pāṇinian studies. Scholars interested in the relations between the spoken language Pāṇini describes and the dialects represented in available Vedic texts will consult this thesis with profit.

* 633, East main st., D-2, GEORGE CARDONA *
Moorestown, N. J. 08057 U.S.A.

Brata and Ālpanā of (West) Bengal by Eva Maria Gupta, pub. by Franz Steiner Verlag, D-6200, Wiesbaden,, Posttach-5529, 1983, pp. x + 210, Price : Dm 38.00.

This is the eightieth volume of Contributions for South Asia Research of the South Asia Institute of the University of Heidelberg. The investigations were carried out from winter 1976/77 to winter 1979/80, with a three week stay at Calcutta and Santiniketan. The author has made an effort " to analyze the *brata* (female religious rite) and *ālpanā* (floor design; normally carried out in white rice paste) in Bengal from different aspects ". She has consulted the literature available at the libraries in Santiniketan and Calcutta, interviewed women and artists who could throw light on *brata* and *ālpanā*, and looked up relevant literature with diagrams, as well as drawings available with women. The author has discussed Abanindranath Tagore's *Banglar Brata*, Tapan Mohan Chatterjee's *Alpona*, Dura Mukerjee's *Alimpan*, Prativabala Bardhan's *Alimpan*, and the Government publication on *Ālpanā*. She points out how Santiniketan turned away from the brahmanical element in the *ālpanās* and concentrated on the artistic effect. (p. 5) To illustrate the influence of geomorphological structure of West Bengal on *Brata* and *Ālpanā*—the author of course does not make a distinction between West and East Bengal, but uses the unitary term ' Bengal ', presumably also because the Bengla Desh refugees display *brata* and *ālpanā* practice in purer traditional form—the author cites Lal Thakur *Brata*, the *Kṣetra Brata* and grain goddess, the Yampukur *Brata* and Bhaduli *Brata*. In chapter IV she discusses the relevance of the *brata* rites in the life of women of Bengal society; more than as *mantras* for the fulfilment of wishes, they were a practical way of inculcating in women or rather young girls ideals of leading a harmonious life and enabling them to take up an honoured position in society. Analysing 100 *bratas*, she sets up three sets of initial parameters : cultural, (both Aryan and non-Aryan) geomorphological, (riverine agrarian cultures) and seasonal (peak summer, monsoon, and harvesting time). The functional meanings of the rites (legends or *mantras*) are classified into four groups : development of artistic abilities, code of conduct for women, development of own world view, and projection of the village life from an undocumented previous era into present day. The author regards the impact of the *brata*s on the women themselves as the most important result having significance for their society too. The totemic aspect in some of the *brata*s is characterised as pointing to their non-aryan origin (designated customarily pre-aryan in literature). The author sees clear Aryan or brahmanical influence in some of the *bratas*, e.g. the prithibi, haricaran and dasputul *bratas*. In the first one there figures the Hindu concept of rebirth, in the second one the god is Aryan, while the third one is based on the epics *Mahābhārata* and *Rāmāyaṇa*.

On the basis of the relationship of the *brati* to the god or goddess supplicated to whether the *brati* can claim familiarity with the divinity or not—the author infers that Surya in Maghmandal *brata*, Bhaduli, Laul in Lalthakur, are non-Aryan divinities. (p. 53)

*Ālpanā*s are in the first place component of a *brata* having the function of purifying the sacrificial or *pūjā* place. The author has described 23 *ālpanā*s and categorised them according to their function (auspicious, gods, natural forces, heavenly bodies, totemic animal, tantric-geometrism, riches, wishes, decoration and miscelaneous).

The Goddess Lakṣmī takes a prominent position in all rites and drawings. She not only embodies agrarian wealth but wealth in general. Originally goddess of earth, she was taken over by the Aryans and adapted to their way of thinking. The Lakṣmī *brata* is a " typical example for an acculturation process in favour of the (latter superior) aryan-brahmanic culture ". (p. 141)

At a time when *brata*s and *ālpanā*s are fast disappearing from the village culture, this work is an attempt to describe their function as well as to point out their effectiveness as a didactic practice. The book is richly illustrated with over 100 diagrams and translations (in German) of the bengali *mantra*s or ritual verses.

D. SRINIVASAN*

*Department of German,
Faculty of Arts, M. S. University of Baroda, Vadodara-2

The Chandonukramaṇī of Śaunaka : edited by UMESH CHANDRA SHARMA, published by Viveka Publications, Aligarh, 202 001, (India) 1981 ; Price : Rs. 30/- ; pp. i – vi + 3 – 50 + 1 – 14.

The *Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad* (1.1.5) speaks of the *parā vidyā* and the *aparā vidyā*. The latter includes the four Vedas, *i.e. Ṛk, Yajus, Sāman* and *Atharvan* and the six Vedāṅgas *i.e. Śikṣā*, (phonetics), *Kalpa* (ritual), *Vyākaraṇa* (Grammar), *Nirukta* (Etymology), *Chandas* (Prosody) and *Jyotiṣa* (Astronomy). Amongst the works very closely related with the Vedāṅga literature are the *Anukramaṇī*s *i.e.* (catalogues, lists, indexes) " which give the contents of the Vedic Saṁhitas with regard to different items ", (Winternitz M. *A History of Indian Literature*, Vol. I, Calcutta, 1927, p. 286), *e.g.* lists of hymns, authors, metres and deities and Śaunaka's *Chandonukramaṇī* is one of the *Anukramaṇī*s of the *Ṛgveda* and it " enumerates the metres in which the hymns of the *Ṛgveda* are composed. It also states for each book the number of verses in each metre as well as the aggregate in all metres ". (Macdonell A. A., *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, Delhi, 1962, p. 229). Rajendra Lal Mitra had published the *Chandonukramaṇī* as an appendix to his edition of the *Bṛhaddevatā* in Bibliotheca Indica from Calcutta in 1892 and it had been out of print since long and was a longfelt desideratum.

We welcome this publication as an independent book by Umesh Chandra Sharma. The present edition is a " reprint of Dr. Mitra's edition " and the editor claims " nothing new in bringing out this book " (Introduction, p. vi). There is a small " Introduction " (pp. i-vi) in which the editor discusses very briefly the life and works of Śaunaka and places Śaunaka between 800 B.C.— 600 B.C. following Virendra Kumar Varma (Introduction, p. v).

The *Chandonukramaṇī* is divided into ten *maṇḍalas* (and not into seven *maṇḍalas*, as the editor notes, Introduction, p. vi. It appears to be a misprint), as the *Ṛgveda* is. The text is given from pp. 1-50. The text is followed by a metre-wise and *maṇḍalawise* " Index of Metres " (pp. 1-14).

We congratulate the editor and the publishers for rendering useful service to the students of *Veda* in particular and of Indology in general by publishing this work as a " reprint " and look forward to have many more editions and works from Umesh Chandra Sharma.

S. G. KANTAWALA*

* Faculty of Arts, Oriental Institute,
M. S. University of Baroda,
Baroda-390002

Vaidika Devatā (*Udbhava aura Vikāsa*) (in Hindi) : by Dr. Gaya Charan Tripathi, published by Bharatiya Vidya Prakashan, Delhi, Varanasi, First edition, 1982; Students' Edition, Price Rs. 50/-; Library Edition, Rs. 75/-; Part I & Part II combined, pp. 4 + 9 + 729 + 33.

There are several papers, monographs and books on Vedic mythology in different languages as is evident from Louis Renou's *Bibliographic Védique* and R. N. Dandekar's *Vedic Bibliography* (Four parts). The present work under review is a welcome addition to the literature on Vedic mythology, as it has distinctive merits.

The book under review is originally a Ph. D. thesis submitted to the Agra University, Agra, by the author in 1962 and now it is published in the book-form with due revisions, alterations and modifications.

The book is divided into two parts. The first part in five chapters *i.e.* chapters I—V deal with the Indo-European deities, Avesta and Vedic deities, Vedic and post-Vedic mythology—a brief survey of different views thereon, celestial deities : Ādityas, Sun and solar deities, Vivasvat, Savitṛ, Pūṣan, Aryaman, Mitra, Varuṇa, Aśvins, and Viṣṇu. The second part in five chapters *i.e.* chapters VI—X deal with (a) atmospheric deities : Indra, Maruts, Vāyu, Rudra, Ambikā, Gaṇeśa (Vināyaka) and Skanda, (b) terrestrial deities : Agni, Yama, Soma; (c) abstract deities : Prajāpati (Brahmā), Viśvakarman, Tvaṣṭṛ, Bṛhaspati and Aditi and (d) Folk deities, spirits *etc.* Yakṣa, Asura, Rākṣasa. The author discusses the origin and development of the Vedic deities from the Saṁhitās to Epics and Purāṇas and thus covers a very wide spectrum. His analysis is clear and unambiguous. The treatment is detailed as far as possible with lucid exposition. There is an alphabetical index of deities, a subject-Index and an author-Index.

It is significant to note that the author made further studies in the Viṣṇu-problem for the doctorate degree of the Freiburg University (West Germany) on the Vāmana-legend under the title : *Der Ursprung und die Entwicklung der Vāmana—Legende in der īndischen Litteratur* (published by Otto Harrasowitz, Wiesbaden, 1968). One wishes the results of his investigations in this book in German are made available by the author either in English or Hindi for the non-German knowing students of Sanskrit in particular and Indology in general at his earliest (of course, a summary is given at the end of the said book).

The book under review is amply documented with necessary citations from relevant texts. The views of different scholars on various deities and on Vedic mythology are referred to and discussed ; it may be that views of some Vedists are not either referred to or discussed ; but it is hoped that the needful will be done by the author in future. In this nice book one misses the bibliography. One wishes that the Avestan citations given in the Devanāgarī script in this book could have been given with transcriptional signs as given in " *Avesta* " edited by E. M. F. Kanga and N. S. Sonatakke (in the Devanāgarī ; Part-I published by the Vaidika Samshodhan Mandal, Poona, 1962.)

It may be noted that the author places the RV about 5000 years back *i.e.* in 3000 B.C. and does not subscribe to the general view that Aryans came from Central Asia to India via Iran (Introduction, p. 3 ; Text pp. 78ff) (*vide* also *The Vedic Age* edited by R. C. Majumdar and A. D. Pusalker, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1971, pp. 220 *ff*). With reference to the *Govardhanadhāraṇa-līlā*-episode the author observes that it represents a stage of the loss of the importance of the sacrificial deities like Indra and their place was being filled up by the ideas of devotion to god and observance of *sadācāra* (pp. 440-441). It may also be pointed out this episode also symbolises the downfall of the Vedic god Indra and his place being occupied by Viṣṇu as Kṛṣṇa ; in brief it is reminiscent of the downfall of Indraism and the rise of Viṣṇuism and Kṛṣṇaism (*vide* Kantawala S. G., *Some Observations on the Bhāgavata-Purāṇa* ; *A Study in Vedico-Purāṇic Correlates*, *Journal of the M. S. University of Baroda*, Humanities Number, Vol. *XXIV* (1975), No. 1, pp. 41 *ff*, Baroda). On pp. 665 *ff* there is a discussion on the relationship between Prajāpati and his daughter and on pp. 673 *ff* there is a reference to the Matsyapurāṇa-version which is interpreted as the creation-myth (p. 675) ; but it can also be taken to symbolise the muse of poetry (*vide* Kantawala S. G., *Two Legends from the Purāṇas* ; *A Study in Upabṛṁhaṇa Dr. Ludwick Sternbach Commemoration Volume*, (*Indologica Taurinensia* Vols. VIII-IX, 1980-81, pp. 21 *ff*. Torino).

In view of the richness of the merits of the book one wishes that it is translated into English to have a wide range of readers.

The author and the publisher deserve our hearty congratulations for this learned book and we look forward to have many more learned works from the author's pen in the years to come.

S. G. KANTAWALA*

*Faculty of Arts/
Oriental Institute, M.S. University,
Vadodara-390002.

Gaṅgeśa's Philosophy of God, by JOHN VATTANKY, S. J., Pub : The Adyar Library and Research Center, Adyar Màdras-600 020, 1984, Pages, I – XX + I—422, Price not mentioned.

The present work under review is the one hundred fifteenth publication in the well-known Adyar Library Series. It is an important addition as it deals with a difficult and very significant though limited phase in the development of Indian logic and philosophy. The intricate subtleties and techniques of argumentation and scientific precision in linguistic expression, inaugurated by Gaṅgeśa, influenced the subsequent growth of Indian philosophical thought both horizontally and vertically. It is a translation and a thorough critical interpretation and evaluation of a section called *Īśvarānumānam*, or *Īśvaravādaḥ* in Gaṅgeśa's monumental work, *Tattvacintāmaṇi*, an epoch-making work of Indian Logic that ushered a new era of *navya nyāya* or neologic, so called in contradistinction to the old school of *nyāya* mainly consisting of aphorisms and commentaries on them.

The book is divided into two parts. The first part comprises of a comprehensive, introductory study of the origin and development of *nyāya*—theism. The basis of Indian logical theism are the three short aphorisms in the *Nyāyasūtras*, (IV. 1.19-21), ascribed to Gautama. Vātsyāyana in his *Bhāṣya*, Uddyotakara, in his *Vārttikas* and Vācaspati Misra in his *tātparyaṭīkā* developed the argument contained in these three aphorisms. Then followed a prolonged dialectical polemic between the naiyāyikas and Buddhists. Buddhist writers like Dharmakīrti, Jñānaśrimitra and Ratnakīrti endeavoured to disprove the existence of God by refuting with great logical acumen the reasoned arguments advanced by the dexterous naiyāyikas. Udayana and Gaṅgeśa attempted to formulate inference, as flawless as possible, for establishing the existence of God by eliminating the defects in earlier formulations pointed out by the Buddhist opponents. The author presents a detailed discussion of the arguments advanced for and against the position.

Part two consisting of three chapters is devoted to an analysis of Gaṅgeśa's *Īśvaravāda* (chapter 1), Text and translation of the section *Īśvaravāda* (chapter 2) and clarification of Gaṅgeśa's argument with the help of a commentary called *Āloka* on it, composed by Jayadeva Misra, Pragalbha's *Ṭīkā* on *Īśvaravāda* section which is available in the form of a manuscript only and Rucidatta's *Tattvacintāmaṇiprakāśa*.

Initially Gaṅgeśa, in order to establish the existence of God, formulates a simple inference : *kṣityādi sakartṛkaṁ kāryatvāt ghatavat*. 'the earth and the like have an agent (creator) since they are effects like a Jar '. This syllogism has four elements : 1. *pakṣa* or the subject, 2. *sâdhya* or the aim sought to be established, 3. *hetu* or reason and 4. *draṣṭānta* or the example. To this the *pūrvapakṣin's* objections are presumed and answered. This process involves the critical examination of cases of *avyāpti* and *ativyāpti* and constant clarification of the *pakṣa* or " earth and the like ", *sādhya* or " *sakartṛkaṁ* " having an agent : and the reason, " because of being an effect " by eliminating possible defects supposedly pointed out by the *pūrvapakṣins*, namely Buddhists and the Mīmānsakas who maintain that the world is created by finite individual souls by means of their *adṛṣṭa* or unseen that is the invisible effect of their meritorious or evil actions. Gaṅgeśa assiduously endeavours to formulate and reformulate the inference with great care and accuracy so as to avoid all possible objections of the nature just cited. Finally Gaṅgeśa proposes his own inference in which the subject is enunciated in one way and the *sādhya* in three ways. The former is stated to be those things which exist by inherence and are created neither through the unseen nor by an effort that is produced and whose object is the material cause. One of the three ways for constructing the *sādhya* would suffice to give an idea of the subtle intricacies and difficulties in translation involved. : not-being -- the—counter—positive—of a -- prior -- absence—which is pervaded by—the prior—absence—of the unseen. Ultimately the existence of God, the omniscient Being who knows and directs the beginningless flux of atoms, dyads, unseen and through his all-extensive desire creates the world. The Allied problems like what is God's purpose in creation and how does God, without body, teach the Vedas to the sages in the beginning are discussed.

Nyāya is a system of logical thinking. As such it is a philosophy of the conditions and possibilities of valid human knowledge. Unlike the Buddhists, it believes in the possibility of knowing things which can never be directly perceived, God Being the extreme case, with the help of things known through direct perception.

The contents of the book are well-ordered and though rigorous are presented in lucid, intelligible manner. Bibliography and index enhance the utility of the work. An errata could have profitably been added to include rare typographical errors like, 'ātmakāśādī' (ātmākāśādī) p. 243, Takur (Thakur) p. 261, f.n., non (now) p. 255, to mention a few. On page 411, the author states that in support of the conclusion the first sacred text : *Viśvataścakṣuḥ*.........is from *Mādhyandinīya—Vājasaneyasaṁhitā* c. 17 *mantra* 19. This *mantra*, in fact, first appears in the *Ṛgveda*, X. 81.3. It is also repeated in the *Yajurveda* as stated by the author and at *Maitrāyaṇīsaṁhitā*, II.10.2 *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka*, X.1.3, *Atharvavedasaṁhitā*, XIII.2.26, (with some variations) and *Śvetāśvatopaniṣad*, III.3.

The work, because of its inherent worth, will be received well among the students and scholars of Indology.

*Oriental Institute,
Baroda.

R. T. VYAS*

Nītidviṣaṣṭikā of Sundarapāṇḍya : Critically edited by DR. S. JAYASREE, Pub. by The Adyar Library and Research Centre, Adyar, Madras. 1984. pp: XXV + 87. Rs. 20/-

The *Nītidviṣaṣṭikā* is an ancient and popular collection of stray verses of moral maxims all in *āryā* metre. Its auther Sundarapāṇḍya is possibly an ancient one, but his identity cannot be established with any certainty. The collection is much in the line of such famous centum as those of Bhartṛhari, Bhallaṭa etc.

The present book is a critical edition of the work. It was originally prepared from 3 *MSS.* (one each in Grantha, Telugu & Malayalam) and 2 vulgate texts by the editor as her thesis for the M. Phil. degree of the Madras University under the guidance of Dr. C. S. Sundaram. It was then revised in the light of Dr. V. Raghavan's draft (from which readings of 2 more *mss.* were also collated) and a new *MS.* freshly acquired by the Adyar Library. The critically reconstructed text is accompanied by an introduction (description of *mss.* material, author and date, appreciative remarks etc.), an English translation, verse—concordance, half—verse index, appendix containing additional verses not accepted in the critical version and bibliography.

The edition meets with all the apparent requirements of a critical edition and is a good example of what M. Phil. studies can ideally be like.

R. I. NANAVATI*

* Faculty of Arts,
M. S. University of Baroda, Baroda.

Vardhamānsūri's Maṇoramākahā, Edited by PANDIT RUPENDRAKUMAR PAGARIYA, published by L. D. Institute of Indology-Ahmedabad-9, pages 339 and Index of Gāthās pages 1-26 and errata pages 27-34, 1983, Price Rs. 66/-.

The book under review is the critical edition of the Prakrit text of *Maṇoramākahā* of Vardhamānasūri of 12th century V. S. This work remained unpublished so far but now because of its critical edition published, it will enrich the literary history of Prakrit literature. The Prakrit literature is very vast and useful for the study of language, folk tales and cultural data and it helps the students of ancient Indian history and culture to throw new light on many linguistic and other such problems. This book is indeed a great contribution to the field of Prakrit studies in particular and Indological Studies in general.

The book *Maṇoramākahā* of Vardhamānasūri is both in prose and poetry and it contains more than 80 tales and some of them form the bulk of folk tales. It is a voluminous work of 3000 *gāthās* and or its extent is 16000 *Ślokapramāṇa*, The author of this great Prakrit work belonged to 12th centure A. D. and he completed the work at Dhanadhuka in North Gujarat. The work is obviously didactic in nature and it can be stamped a Jain *Dharmakathā*, the aim of which is to preach Jain tenents through the medium of illustrative stories. This is the spirit of many Jain works and this is seen here in this work. As said earlier, the stories in the book reveal the social life of middle and lower social strata of Gajarat, Rajasthan and the neighbouring regions during the 11th century and as such the book indeed serves the purpose of a socio-cultural document of this period.

As observed by Dr. H. C. Bhayani in his Introduction, Linguistically the work is equally interesting as it contains many *Des'ya* words which are attested for the first time and which are valuable for New Indo—Aryan Lexicology. This introduction of a well--known internationally reputed scholar like Dr. H. C. Bhayani is an added feature of the work. The editor Pandit Pagaria deserves our thanks for editing such a valuable and extensive work in Prakrit with great efforts and scholarly spirit. The book is well printed. We also thank L. D. Institute which has published this unpublished Prakṛit work for the benefit of the students of Indology. It is hoped that the L.D. Institute will bring out more such unpublished works in Prakrit, it is a neglected area in the Indological world and L.D. Institute will contribute greatly in this field.

P. M. UPADHYE*

* Department of Sanskrit,
Parle College, Bombay, 400057.

Gheraṇḍa Saṁhitā edited by SWAMI DIGAMBARJI AND DR. M. L. GHAROTE, published by Kaivalyadhama S.M.Y.M. Samiti, Lonavla (India) 410403, Ist edition 1978 pp. xviii + 196 price Rs. 30 (India), U.S. 8, U.K. £ 4.

Kaivalyadhama (Lonavla) is welknown for the practice of Haṭhayoga and also by the publications of important and needful texts on Haṭhayoga.

This book *Gheraṇḍa Saṁhitā* is now published as critical edition and will bring a new wave in the field of Haṭhayogic practices.

The editors have consulted 14 manuscripts available from different institutions and 5 printed texts. Though '*a general account of Manuscript*' is given, it is not clear whether the account is chronological or alphabetical or serial.

Chapter 1 discusses the six purificatory acts.

Chapter 2 discusses the postures.

Chapter 3 describes 25 *Mudrās*, including *Dhāraṇās*.

Chapter 4 deals with *Pratyāhāra*.

Chapter 5 introduces the methods and types of *Prāṇāyāma*, and *Nādānusandhānam*.

Chapter 6 gives three kinds of meditation viz. *Sthūla*, *Jyoti* and *Sūkṣma*. and Chapter 7 discusses at length *Samādhi* which can be attained by sixfold means— *Śāṁbhavī Mudrā*, *Khecarī Mudrō*, *Bhrāmarī Prāṇāyāma*, *Yonimudrā*, *Bhakti* and *Manomūrcchana*.

The seven chapters are termed as *Upadeśa* i.e. Lesson and according to the analogy of *Piṇḍa-brahmāṇḍa*—the body is *Piṇḍa* which is termed as *ghaṭa*-pitcher. The *Saṁsāra* is the wheel—*ghaṭīyantra* and the fire of Yoga is essential for the upliftment.

Gheraṇḍa Saṁhitā (G.S.) is indebted to *Haṭhayogapradīpikā* (H.P.) of Svātmārāma Yogīndra (which is also less original and more encompendium). Naturally *G.S.* belongs to later period than that of *H.P.* (1350-1650 A.D.)

This book is presented with *Devanāgarī* script, Roman Transliteration and translation into English with the readings in footnotes. At the end of seventh chapter we find the notes, Alphabetical index of verses (App. I), important words (App. II) and Errata.

The editing is not systematic. Just as in the second chapter, verses 3-6 where the translation is under verse no. 3 but 4-6 verses are given without translation. At the same time, in the same chapter, verses no. 14-15 are in *yugma* but the translation is below no. 15 (which is proper). Verses no. 33 & 34 (p. 16) are not *yugmaka*, but they are placed together as *yugmaka*.

On p. 20 the V.l. 122-*Vahnimaṇḍaladīpanam* is better than the accepted text-*dīpanaṁ-vahnimaṇḍalam*. On p. 36, the accepted text is metrically wrong—*padau ca bhūmau* etc. while v l. 37—*padau bhūmau ca*—is better. On p. 120, v.l.--*tadeva hi*—is better than the accepted one—*parāt param*. Even the transliteration is not scientific at many places as e.g. p. 8, verse-16 *dehanirmalakāraṇam* is given as *deha nirmalakāraṇam*, while on p. 16, verse-32 *mārjayetkarṇarandhrayoḥ* should be *mārjayet karṇarandhrayoḥ*.

The translation into English is more imperative than optative (the mood which is used by the original author himself). It is a type of free translation. Only one example is enough to get the idea.

Lesson-III, Verse-24, p. 59. The translation runs—" (By the practice of *Khecarī*) one neither *suffers* from loss of consciousness, nor feels hungry, thirsty or lazy. Disease, old age and death are *overcome* and a radiant body is acquired ".

For the Italic words of the above verse, the verbs are *prajāyate* and *jāyate*. So the translation should be—" (By the practice of *Khecarī*), there does not arise loss of consciousness, hunger, thirst, laziness, disease, old age and death. He becomes a divine bodied (*or* his body becomes divine) ".

The plates of the postures etc. should also be checked. Plate-12 (below) is an illustration of *Siṁhāsana*. The description on p. 35, verse-15 says *Vyāttavaktro* i.e. opened mouth but the plate shows tensely opened mouth. Similarly, plate-14 (upper) gives an illustration of *Dhanurāsana*. The hands are wrongly turned. They should not be taken up from the belly side but from the outer side of head.

The above mistakes can be overlooked because the text as such is useful to the beginners and the scholars of Haṭhayoga. We may expect that the second edition of this text will be critically edited and corrected, with, of course, the revised notes.

The Kaivalyadhama S.M.Y.M. Samiti has given a useful text to the reader and the readers will satisfy their curiosity of Haṭhayogic learning.

J. A. JANI*

* Faculty of Arts,
M. S. University of Baroda,
Baroda, 390002.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

1. *The Wondrous Crest—Jewel In Performance* : Ed. by Clifford Reis Jones, pubd. by Oxford University Press, Post Box 31, Bombay—400 039, pp. xix + 270, Price : Rs. 100-00.
2. *The Pādas of the Suttanipāta* : Ed. by Willem B. Bollee, pubd. by Verlag Für Orientalistiche, Fachpublikalionen, D 2057 Reinbek, Beruhard—Thueu—St. 18, pp. vii + 116, Price : 24.00 D.M.
3. *Reverse Index of the Dhammapada, Suttanipāta, Thera—and Therīgathā Pādas* : Ed. by Willem B. Bollee, pub. as above, pp. 262, Price : 43.00 D.M.
4. *Studies in Kumārila and Śaṅkara* : by Wilhelm Halbfass, pubd. as above, pp. 140, Price : 24.00 D.M.
5. *Gilgit Manuscripts Vol. II, Part—3* : by Nalinaksha Dutt, pubd. by Sri Satguru Publication, Indological & Oriental Publishers, Ist Floor, 40/5, Shakti Nagar, Delhi—110 007, pp. xxviii + 455—648 + 24, Price : Rs. 1080-00 (4 Vols. in 9 Pts.).
6. *A Catalogue—Index of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons* : pub. as above, pp. 124, Price : Not printed.
7. *Sriman Mahābhāratam Ādi Parva—I* : Ed. by T. R. Krishnacharya & T. R. Vyasacharya, pubd. as above, pp. 432, price : Rs. 1500-00 (8 Vols. set).
8. *The Vīṇāśikhatantra* : Ed. by Teun Goudriaan, pubd. by M/S. Motilal Banarsidass, 41, U.A., Bunglow Road, Jawahar Nagar, , Delhi-110 007, pp. viii—162, Price : Rs. 75-00.
9. *Indian Kāvya Literature (Vol. 4)* : Ed. by A. K. Warder, pubd. as above, pp. xii + 642, Price : Rs. 175-00.
10. *Pūṣan and Sarasvatī* : Ed. by J. Gonda, pubd. by The Royal Netherlands Academy of Sciences, P. O. Box 19121, 1000 GC Amsterdam, pp 176, Price : DFL 110-00.

11. *Amarāvatī and the Beginnings of Stucco Modelling in India*: Written & pubd. by K. M. Varma, P. O. Santiniketan, West Bengal, Pine code : 731 235, pp. 82, Pri : Rs. 40-00.

12. *Apabhraṁśa of Hemacandra* : by Kantilal B. Vyas, pubd. by the Secretary, Prakrit Text Society, Ahmedabad-380 009, pp. 20 + 198, Price : Rs. 8-00.

13. *Mallināthā's Ghaṇṭāpatha on the Kirātārjunīya. I-VI* : by J. A. F. Roodbergen, pubd. by E. J. Brill, Publisher, Leiden, The Netherlands, pp. 578, Price : 185.00 guilders.

14. *Knowledge Before Printing & After* : by Anand E. Wood, pubd. by R. Dayal, Oxford University Press, Y. M. C. A. Library Building, Jai Singh Road, New Delhi-110 001, pp. 200, Price : Rs. 120-00.

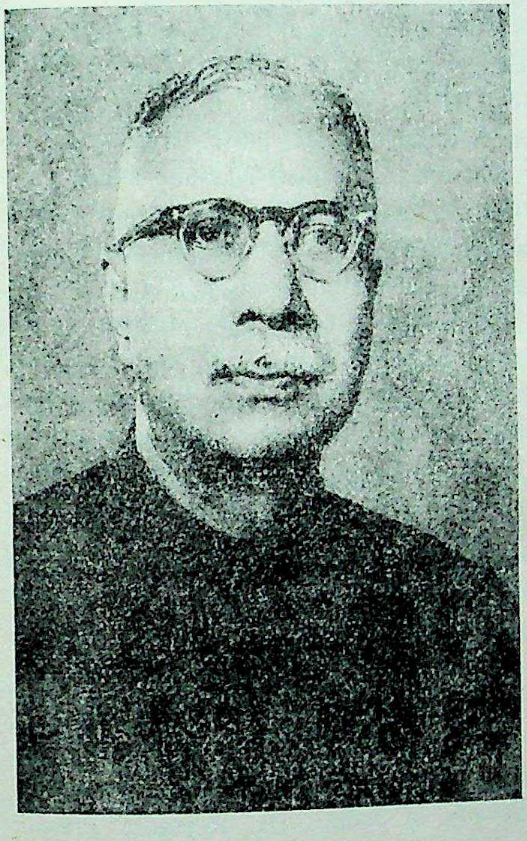
15. *The Vision of Cosmic Order in the Vedas* : by Jeanine Miller, pubd. by Routledge & kegan Paul Ltd., Broadway House, New town Road, Henley-on-Thames, Oxon RG 9 1 EN England, pp. xx-358, Price : £. 25.00 (Cloth).

16. आंध्र तथा मधुरांध्र भारती (प्रथम खण्ड, द्वितीय खण्ड, तृतीय खण्ड, चतुर्थ खण्ड): by P. D. Shastri, pubd. by Jana Jyoti Prakashana, Rajasthan—313 326, Part—I, pp. 138, Price : Rs. 15-00, Part—II, pp. 139-414, Price : Rs. 35-00, Part—III, pp. 415-684, Price : Rs. 40-00, Part—IV, pp. 685-806, Price : Rs. 15-00.

OBITUARY

Homage to *Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. V. V. Mirashi :*

It is really sad that a veteran scholar of Epigraphy, Numismatics, Sanskrit and a doyen of Ancient Indian history culture and Archaeology, *Mahāmahopādhyāya* Dr. Vasudeva Vishnu Mirashi has left this mortal world on 3rd April, 1985 for his heavenly abode. Dr. Mirashi was virtually a *guru* of epigraphists and his sad demise has caused a vacuum in the field of scholarship of Indology which is difficult to be filled. Born in the family of the Brahmins of Ratnagiri in the village called Kuvale on March 13, 1893, Mm. Dr. Mirashi had a brilliant academic career. He got his primary education at Kolhapur. In 1910, he passed his Matriculation Examination of the University of Bombay, from The Rajaram High School, Kolhapur with distinctions. He stood first among the students of his school and secured eighth position in the University of Bombay. For securing highest marks in various subjects, he was awarded Sir George Le Grand Jacob scholarship and Ghatge Scholarship.



At the Intermediate Examination, he got Third position in the University of Bombay and secured highest marks in Sanskrit. Due to this achievement he got Varjeevandas Madhavdas Sanskrit Scholarship for his post Intermediate studies. He then joined the Deccan College Poona which was an institution for brilliant and aristocratic students at that time.

Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. 34, Nos. 3-4, March-June 1985 issue, pp. 285 to 285.

In 1914, he passed his B.A. examination with honours in First class. At the M.A. examination, he secured First position and won the covetable Bhagwandas Purushottamdas Sanskrit scholarship, Zala Vedanta Prize and Lawrence Jen Kins Scholarship. During his student—career, scholars like H. D. Velankar, N. G. Damle, R. D. Karmarkar, A. B. Gajendragadkar and K. P. Kulkarni were his contemporaries.

After his brilliant career Dr. Mirashi opted for teaching profession. In 1917, he joined the Elphinston College, Bombay as an Assistant Professor of Sanskrit. In 1919, he passed the LL.B. examination. In the same year, he was appointed as a Lecturer in Sanskrit in the Nagpur Mahavidyalaya (formerly Morris College).

In January 1942, he was appointed as a Principal in the same institution which he continued upto 1947. After that he worked as a Principal of Vidarbh Mahavidyalaya (formerly King Edward College) Amravati. He retired from the Government service in 1950. Professor Mirashi had been closely connected with Nagpur University since 1922. For many years, he had been the Head of the Department of Sanskrit, Pali and Prakrit and the Dean, Faculty of Arts of Nagpur University. He has also been acredited for developing the Indological section of Nagpur University Library. He was closely associated with the University Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture. Not only as a scholar of Sanskrit but he also distinguished himself as a historian of Ancient Indian history where he made a place for himself due to his most important original contributions in the field. Indological study in the University of Nagpur was his own creation it is creditable that the branch of learning which developed under the able guidance acquired a name in the field of international Scholarship,

Dr. Mirashi was well-known for his researches. Government of India and many Universities showered on him highest honours which a scholar can crave. He was conferred the title of *Mahāmahopādhyāya* in 1949 by the Viceroy of India and D. Litt. degree by Sagar University in 1958 and by Bombay in 1959, also by Nagpur University in 1960. In 1975, he was conferred the title of *Padmabhūṣaṇa* by the Government of India. He was the fellow of the Deccan College, Poona and Numismatic Society of India. In 1975, he was honoured by the Sahitya Academy and Epigraphy Society of India. Dr. Rajendra Prasad, the President of India presented him a copper plate in which his services for learning were recounted.

Dr. Mirashi was endowed with the capacity to have a judicious approach to the problems of his research. He was free from pre-conceived notions and never imposed his conclusions or views upon anybody. He belonged to the scientific school of historians whose assessment was always logical. He was a noble example of selfless work. He was not merely an individual but an institution by himself. He infused the spirit of dedicated work in many scholars who are proud of being his students and have made good contributions in their respective fields. He was holding aloft the torch lit by *Savants* like Kielhorn, Bühler, Fleet, and Bhandarkar. Scholars like Winternitz, Barnett, Randle and Richard Burn have spoken very high about his contribution to ancient Indian History. He was a well-known paleographist, R. B. K. N. Dikshit appreciated his spirit of working and provided him many Undeciphered inscriptions to work. He edited numerous inscriptions and published them in standard research journals both in English and Marathi. He often used to visit new sites in search of new inscriptions. He laid the foundation of the Vidarbha Saṁśodhaka Maṇḍal. He has published over two hundred papers in English and more than one hundred papers in Marathi. The main field of his research has been epigraphy and numismatics of pre-Muhamdan period. It would not be out of place to mention that he contributed his learned papers to our Journal of the Oriental Institute, for which the Oriental Institute is proud of.

As a Sanskritist,. Dr Mirashi has contributed in Sanskrit also. His *Harṣacaritasāra* and *Laghukaumudī* in Sanskrit were appreciated by the Sanskrit scholars. His works on Kālidāsa and Bhavabhūti are well-known. His grand contribution, Inscriptions of the Kalacuri-Cedi Era (*Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Volume IV, part I and II) will remain as a land-mark in the field of Epigraphy. He also published Inscriptions of the Vakatakas (Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum Vol. V) and *Studies in Indology*, Vols I to IV. He wrote 17 books in Marathi, 4 books in Hindi and one book in English and one in Gujarati.

Even though no more with his mortal coil with us, Mm. Dr. Mirashi will always remain alive in the memory of the students and scholars of Indology for ever and his work will guide the researchers for many years to come.—May his soul rest in eternal peace !

BHAGWAN SINGH SURYAVANSHI

Department of Archaeology and Ancient History,
Faculty of Arts,
M. S. University of Baroda,
Baroda, 390 002.

Statement about the ownership and other particulars about newspapers

JOURNAL OF THE ORIENTAL INSTITUTE

(To be published in the first issue every year after the last day of February)

FORM IV

(See Rule 8)

1 *Place of the Publication* : Oriental Institute,
M. S. University of Baroda, Baroda

2 *Periodicity of its Publication* : Three Months—September, December,
March and June

3 *Printer's Name* : Dr. S. G. Kantawala
(*Whether citizen of India ?*) Yes
(*If foreigner, state the country of origin*)
Address : "Shri–Ram" Kantareshvar Mahadev's
Pole, Bajwada, Baroda-390 001

4 *Publisher's Name* : Dr. S. G. Kantawala
(*Whether citizen of India ?*) Yes
(*If foreigner, state the country of origin*)
Address : "Shri–Ram" Kantareshvar Mahadev's
Pole, Bajwada, Baroda-390 001

5 *Editor's Name* : Dr. S. G. Kantawala
(*Whether citizen of India ?*) Yes
(*If foreigner, state the country of origin*)
Address : "Shri–Ram" Kantareshvar Mahadev's
Pole, Bajwada, Baroda-390 001

6 *Names & addresses of Individuals who own the newspaper and partners or shareholders holding more than one percent of the total capital* The M. S. University of Baroda, Baroda

I, S. G. Kantawala, hereby declare that the particulars given above are true to the best of my knowledge and belief.

S. G. Kantawala
Signature of Publisher

जीवत्वं तु भ्रान्त्यैव प्रकल्पितम् । तथा च श्रुति :—

तदेव सन्तः तदु तद्भवामो न चेदवेदी(दि)र्महती विनष्टिः ।
ये तद्विदुरमृतास्ते भवन्त्यथेतरे दुःखमेवोपयन्ति[६३] ॥ इति ।

" सेयं देवते(तैक्षत हन्ताहमि)मास्तिस्त्रो देवताऽनेन जीवेनात्मनाऽनुप्रविश्य नामरूपे व्याकरवाणि "[६४]

इति परमात्मैव जीवस्वरूपेण प्रविष्ट इत्युक्तत्वात् । न च चारेण परस्यैनानि प्रविश्य कलयानीति तद्वदयमपि परमात्मा जीवेन तदंशभूतेन प्रविश्य व्याकरवाणीति वाच्यम् । तत्र तु राज्ञश्चारादयः संभवति(न्ति) । अत्र तु परमात्मनोऽद्वितीयत्वात् अन्यस्य जीवस्याऽप्यसंभवात् । " तत्सृष्ट्वा तदेवानुप्राविश्य(श)दि "ति[६५] श्रुत्या परमात्मन एव प्रवेश उक्तो बाध्येत । तस्मादयमेव परमात्मा त्रिष्वप्यवस्थासु परमात्मैव भवति, जीवत्वं तु भ्रान्त्यैव । ततोऽधिष्ठानभूतात्परमात्मनः सुषुप्त्याख्याज्ञानाज्जाग्रत् स्वप्नोभयविधिः(धः) प्रपञ्च उत्पद्यते भ्रान्त्यैव, न तु परमार्थ(तः) इति सिद्धम् ।

Soulhood is created through illusion. There are scriptural statements (to this effect) : " Being that alone, we become that; if we do not know this, great is the peril. Those who knew this, become immortal, while others attain only sorrow ". (Bṛ. Up. IV. 4.14).

" That Divinity thought, ' well, let me enter these three divinities (fire, water and food) by means of this living soul and let me then develop names and forms ", (Chā. Up. VI. 3.2).

In this scriptural statement it is said that the Supreme Person alone entered in the form of soul.

Nor can you urge that (as a king thinks) ' let me know having entered the weak links of the foe ', in this case this Supreme Person thinks ' let me develop (names and forms), having entered as the soul that is his fraction. For in the case of the king, (the availability of) the spies and others is possible. But in the present instance because the Supreme Person is without a second, there is no possibility of another soul. The entrance of the Supreme Person only, stated by the scripture : ' having created it verily, entered it '. (Taitt. Up. II. 6) will be contradicted. In all the three states, therefore, the Supreme Person remains as such, his status as soul is illusory. It is proved that from the ignorance called ' deep sleep ' (superposed on) the Supreme Person, through illusion, the worlds of the waking and dream are created, not in reality.

---

६३ बृहदारण्यकोपनिषद् , ४.४.१४, मंत्रेऽस्मिन् आद्या पंक्तिः शतपथब्राह्मण, १४.७.२.१५ इत्यस्माद् गृहीता । बृहदारण्यक उपनिषदि तु " इहैव सन्तोऽथ विद्मस्तद्वयं न चेदवेदिर्महती विनष्टिः " इति पाठः ।

६४ छान्दोग्योपनिषद् , ६.३.२.

६५ तैत्तिरीयोपनिषद् , २.६

न च प्रयागगमनदशायां वांराणसि(सी)वदवस्थान्तरगतेऽप्यवस्थान्तरं स्थास्यतीति वाच्यम्। अद्वैतमते सर्वं जगत्प्रातिभासिकं परमात्मनि कल्पितं शुक्तौ रजतवदिति सिद्धान्तः। प्रातिभासिकं(कत्वं)च तत्प्रतीतिमात्रजन्यत्वम्। प्रतीत्यतिरिक्तसत्ताकत्वाभाववत्त्वम्। तथा सति प्रयागगमनदशायां वाराणस्यपि परमात्मनि लीयत एव। नन्वेवं सति सैवेयमिति व्यवहारो न स्यात्। शुति रजतज्ञानाच्च वैलक्षण्यं न स्यात्। तथा हि पूर्वेद्युर्गेहे दृष्टस्य वस्तुनो द्वितीयस्मिन् दिवसे तदेव तदिति व्यवहारो जायते न तथा प्रातिभासिके शुक्तिरजतादौ, तस्मान्न जाग्रद्दशायां प्रपञ्चलय इति चेन्न। स्वप्नेऽपि सर्वो व्यवहारो जायते। व्यवहारं प्रति व्यवहर्तृज्ञानस्य कारणत्वात्।

ननु स्वप्नस्य लयः प्रबोधे जायते, न तथा जागरणस्य लयः स्वप्ने। पुनरुत्था(नस्य) स्वप्नवन्मिथ्यात्वाभावादिति चेन्न। जाग्रत्प्रपञ्चलयः स्वप्ने जायत एव लयत्वाविशेषात्। ननु स्वप्नलयो जागरणे सर्वैरनुभूयते न तथा जाग्रल्लयः, सर्वेषां तथाऽनुभवादिति चेन्न। जाग्रल्लयोऽपि सर्वेषां जायत एव। तथापि बाधकज्ञानाभावान्न सर्वैर्ज्ञायते। तथा हि– स्वप्नस्य बाधकं ज्ञानं जागरणं, तच्च सर्वेषां जायते। जाग्रद्बाधकं ज्ञानं त्वद्वैतसाक्षात्कार एव। तथा

Nor can it be urged that even on attaining the different (dream) state, another state (of waking) remains as on one's reaching Prayāga, Vārāṇasī does exist. For in the *advaita* doctrine, it is the basic tenet that like silver in nacre, the whole world is apparent only and is imagined in the (substrate) Supreme Person. The apparent nature is the same as being generated by mere (wrong) perception. That is, it does not exist apart from that (wrong) perception. In that case, in the state of (dream) reaching to Prayāga, Vārāṇasī also indeed gets merged in God. But (the opponent argues) then, the transaction (based on the knowledge) 'it is the same' cannot be maintained. There will also not be difference from the false knowledge as silver in the nacre. To explain, one finds that the thing which he had seen the previous day in one's house, remains the same the next day. But such is not the case of the apparent silver in the nacre. The world of the waking state does, therefore, not get merged. (We rejoin), no, for all such transactions take place even in dream. Because the cause of transaction is the knowledge of the agent.

Nor can it be urged that the state of waking does not get merged in that of dream, as the state of dream does in that of the waking, for none finds the waking state as false like a dream. For (we maintain that) the world of waking does get merged in the state of dream, there being no difference so far as the merger is concerned. If you urge that the merger of the dream-world in the state of waking is experienced by all but not the merger of the world of waking, for such is the experience of all, we rejoin, no, for the state of waking does get merged in everyone's case. But because of the absence of sublating knowledge, (this fact) is not apprehended by all. To explain, the sublating knowledge of dream is the waking itself, which occurs to all. The knowledge that sublates

च सर्वेषामद्वैतसाक्षात्काराभावाल्लयत्वाविशेषेऽपि बाधो न जायते। अद्वैतसाक्षात्कारवतस्तु जाग्रद्बाधो जायत एव। एतत्सर्वं "मायामात्रं तु कात्स्नें(त्स्न्ये)नानभिव्यक्तियोगात (त्स्न- स्वरूपत्वात्)[६६] " इत्यधिकरणे वाचस्पतिमिश्रैः भाष्याभिप्रायविद्भिः प्रपञ्चितम्।

ननु स्वप्नप्रपञ्चोत्पत्तिः यथा स्वप्नाधिष्ठानात् श्रूयते—"न तत्र रथा न रथयोगा न पन्थानो भवन्ति। अथ रथान् रथयोगान् पथः सृजत[६७] " इत्यादिना, न तथा जाग्रदवस्थाधिष्ठानाज्जाग्रत्प्रपञ्चोत्पत्तिरिति चेन्न। तत्रापि सुप्तपुरुषं प्रदर्श्य तस्मात्पुरुषात्—"स यथोर्णवा[६८]भिस्तन्तुनोच्चरेत्, यथाऽग्नेः क्षुद्राः विस्फुलिङ्गा व्युच्चरन्त्येवमेवास्मादात्मनः सर्व्वे प्राणाः सर्व्वे लोकाः सर्व्वे देवाः सर्व्वाणि भूतानि सर्व्वत आत्मनो व्युच्चरन्ति[६९] " इत्यादिना अवस्थात्रयाधिष्ठानादेव जाग्रत्प्रपञ्चस्याऽप्युत्पत्तिश्रवणात्।

नन्वज्ञानजन्यः प्रातिभासिकोऽयं प्रपञ्चश्चेत्तर्हि यथा शुक्तिज्ञानाद्रजतलयो जायते तथा अद्वि(द्वै)तसाक्षात्कारात्प्रपञ्चलयः कुतो न जायते इति चेन्न। प्रातिभासिकत्वेऽपि भ्रमस्य द्वैविध्यात्। तथा हि—भ्रमो द्विविधो निरुपाधिकः सोपाधिकश्च। तत्र शुक्तिरजतं रज्जु

the state of waking is verily the realisation of the non-dual (Self). And there is no realisation of the non-dual Self, with regard to all. The sublation, therefore, does not occur, though the merger is common to all. But in the case of the person who has realised the non-dual Self, the state of waking is, indeed, sublated. All such matters are discussed in detail by Vācaspati Miśra who understood the real significance of the commentary (of Śaṅkara) in the section. "But it (the dream-world) is mere illusion on account of its nature not manifesting itself with the totality (of the attributes of reality", Br. sū. III. 2.3.).

But as the production of the dream-world is stated in the scripture from the the substrate of the dream : "There are no chariots, nor animals to be yoked to them, no roads, but he creates chariots, animals to be yoked to them and roads"; (Bṛ. up. IV 3.10), there is no similar scriptural statement to the effect that the world of the waking state is produced from its substrate. This is not so, because in that case also having shown a person asleep, from him, that is from the substrate of the three states indeed the production of the world of the waking state is stated in the scripture : "as a spider moves along the thread, as small sparks come forth from the fire, even so from this Self come forth all breaths, all worlds, all deities and all beings", (Bṛ. Up. II. 1.20).

(It cannot be urged that) if, indeed, the world were mere appearance, arising from ignorance, how is it that it does not disappear on the perception of the non-dual (Self) as the silver disappears on knowing the nacre, for though apparent, wrong knowledge is of two kinds. To explain, wrong knowledge is twofold, uncaused and having a cause. The nacre-silver and the rope-serpant are

---

[६६] ब्रह्मसूत्रम्, ३ २.३

[६७] बृहदारण्यकोपनिषद्, ४.३. १०

[६८] माध्यन्दिनशाखायाम् "ऊर्णनाभिः" इति पठ्यते।

[६९] तत्रैव, २. १. २०

(ज्जु)सर्पश्च निरुपाधिकः। सोपाधिकस्तु द्विचन्द्रदर्शनं बिम्बप्रतिबिम्बलक्षणश्च। निरुपाधिकभ्रमस्तु अज्ञाननिवृत्त्या निवर्त्तते। सोपाधिकभ्रमस्त्वज्ञाने निवृत्तेऽपि यावदुपाधिर्विद्यते तावन्न निवर्त्तते। चन्द्रसाक्षात्कारेण द्विचन्द्रविषयकाज्ञाने नष्टेऽपि नेत्राङ्गुलिसंयोगाख्य उपाधिर्यावन्न निवर्त्तते तावद् द्विचन्द्रप्रत्यक्षमपि न निवर्त्तते। नेत्राङ्गुलिसंयोगे निवृत्ते स्वयमेव निवर्त्तते। पुनरपि नेत्राङ्गुलिसंयोगे जाते द्विचन्द्रप्रत्यं(त्यक्षं) जायते। तत्रापि प्रातिभासिकत्वं भवत्येव। एवमत्रापि। स्वप्नप्रपञ्चस्त्वज्ञानजन्यो निरुपाधिको भ्रमः। स चाज्ञाननिवृत्त्या निवर्त्तते। जाग्रत्प्रपञ्चस्तु सोपाधिकः। तत्र तु स्थूलशरीरमुपाधिः। न च स्वप्ने लिङ्गशरीरमप्युपाधिः, लिङ्गशरीरं विना स्वप्नप्रपञ्चस्याभावादिति वाच्यम्। लिङ्गशरीराभावेऽपि शुक्तिरजतादिभ्रमदर्शनात्। वस्तुतस्तु सूक्ष्मप्रपञ्चं प्रति लिङ्गशरीरमुपाधिः। स्थूलप्रपञ्चं प्रति स्थूलशरीरमुपाधिरिति नात्र विरोध इति। व्यवहारस्तु तत्तदवस्थायामन्यूनो दृश्यते, अवस्थानिवृत्या च निवर्त्तते। तस्मात्साक्षिचैतन्यं सत्यज्ञानानन्दस्वरूपमक्रियं निःप्र(निष्प्र)पञ्चं सर्वदैवैकस्वरूपं भवति। सुषुप्त्यवस्थायां मायामात्रं कारणशरीरं भवति। तदा व्यष्ट्यभिमान्यात्मा प्राज्ञः। समष्ट्यभिमान्यात्मा ईश्वरः।

uncaused. The perception of two moons and the image-reflection are having specific causes. The uncaused misapprehension disappears on the removal of ignorance. But that having specific cause persists even on removal of ignorance, till the cause remains. Even on removal of the ignorance regarding two moons when the moon is (rightly) perceived, the erroneous perception of two moons does not cease, till the cause, viz., the contact of finger and the eye does not come to an end On the contact of finger and the eye coming to an end, it automatically ceases. But the (erroneous) perception of two moons, occurs again if the contact of the finger and the eye recurs. This is also a case of mere appearance. Similar is the case here too, (i.e. in the present context of the world being an appearance). The dream-world is an uncaused delusion arising out of ignorance. It disappears on the removal of ignorance. But the world of the waking state is having a cause, that is the adjunct of gross body. It cannot be urged that in regard to dream also, the subtle body is the causal adjunct, as without the subtle body there is no dream, for even in the abscence of the subtle body, there arises the misapprehension of silver in nacre and others. In fact, in the case of subtle world, the subtle body is the causal adjunct. With regard to the gross world the gross body is the causal adjunct. There is no opposition to this stand. The transactions in different states are flawless and come to an end on the cessation of the states. The witnessing conscousness, therefore, is always uniform and is of the nature of truth, knowledge, bliss, devoid of modifications, actions and is acosmic. In the state of deep sleep there remains only the (principle of) illusion in the form of causal body. Then, the Self having the conceit of the individual, is called *prājña* (or intelligent) and the Self having conceit of the whole is called *īśvaru* (or the Lord).

ननु पूर्वोक्तत्वमीश्वरस्य सुषुप्तौ न सिद्ध्यति, सर्वेश्वरः सर्वनियन्ता सर्वकर्मफलदाता सर्वकर्त्ता इत्यादि तदानीं (न संभवति) सर्वविषयज्ञानाभावादिति वाच्यम् । तत्रापि सर्वं संभवति । तथा हि—सुषुप्तौ सर्वजीवानामविद्यायां लीनत्वात् । श्रुत्यापि तस्यामवस्थायामेव "सलिल एको द्रष्टा[७०]" इत्यादिना परमेश्वरत्वप्रतिपादनात् । विस्तरस्तु पञ्चदश्यां चित्रदीपे द्रष्टव्यः । विस्तरभयान्नास्माभिः प्रपञ्च्यते । सुषुप्तिस्वप्नयोर्मध्ये श्रुत्युक्तक्रमेण भूतान्युत्पद्यन्ते । तथा हि—परमात्मन्यविद्यायां तमोगुणोद्रेकात् प्रथममाकाश उत्पद्यते । आकाशाद्वायुर्वायोस्तेजस्तेजसो जलं जलात्पृथिवी । ततोऽनन्तरं भूतेषु व्यस्तेषु सत्सु सत्वोद्रेकात् क्रमेण ज्ञानेन्द्रियाणि उत्पद्यन्ते । आकाशाच्छ्रोत्रम् । वायोस्त्वक् । तेजसश्चक्षुः । जलाद् जिह्वा । पृथिव्या गन्धः । भूतेषु समस्तेषु सत्वगुणोद्रेकादन्तःकरणमुत्पद्यते । तदन्तःकरणं वृत्तिभेदाद् द्विविधम्—मनोबुद्धिश्चेति । ततो भूतेषु व्यस्तेषु सत्सु रजोगुणोद्रेकात् क्रमेण कर्मेन्द्रियाण्युत्पद्यन्ते—वाक्पाणि-

It cannot be urged that in the state of deep (dreamless) sleep, the lordship of the Lord as stated earlier cannot be established, because in that state, there is absence of knowledge regarding all objects and the Lord is the ruler of all, the controller of all, dispenser of results of all actions and doer of all actions. For (we rejoin) even in that state, all this is possible. To explain, in the state of deep sleep all souls get merged in ignorance. The scripture too establishes the Lordship even in that very state by saying, " He is one (non-dual) Seer, (transparent) like water ", (Bṛ. Up. IV. 3.32). A detailed exposition of this topic may be seen in the (6th) chapter " *Citradapa* " in *Pancadasī* (of Vidyāraṇya Muni). It is avoided here for fear of (needless) expatiation. In between the states of deep sleep and dream, elements (beings) are produced in the order indicated in the scripture. To explain, in the ignorance embedded in the Supreme Person, first of all space is created on account of the preponderance of the quality of *tamas*. From space air, from air, fire, from fire, water and from water, the earth (are produced). Thereafter, when these elements are differentiated (are unblended) gradually cognitive sense-organs are created on account of the predominance of the quality of *sattva.* From space ear, from air skin, from fire eye, from water tongue, from earth (the sense of) smell (are created). When the elements are undifferentiated, the inner instrument is produced, on account of the preponderanee of the quality of *sattva*. The inner instrument, on account of difference of function, is twofold, viz., mind and intellect. Thereafter, when the elements are differentiated, eventually the conative sense-organs viz , speech, hands, feet, the organ of excretion and generation are produced on account of the preponderance of the quality of *rajas*. When the elements are undifferentiated, the vital breath is created on account of the preponderance of *rajas*. The vital breath

---

[७०] तत्रैव, ४. ३. ३२

पादपायु(यू)पस्थानि । भूतेषु समस्तेषु सत्सु रजसः उद्रेकात्प्राणः उत्पद्यते । सः प्राणो वृत्तिभेदात्पञ्चविधः । प्राणापानव्यानोदानसमानभेदात् । एतत्सप्तदशकं लिङ्गशरीरं स्वप्नावस्थायामुत्पद्यते, सूक्ष्मप्रपञ्चश्च । तदेव चैतन्यं मायया परिणमितं सैव स्वप्नावस्था । तदा व्यष्टयभिमान्यात्मा तैजसः, समष्टयभिमान्यात्मा हिरण्यगर्भः । ततोऽनन्तरं तदेव चैतन्यं मायया पञ्चीकरणद्वारा परिणमते तदा स्थूलः पञ्चभूतादिप्रपञ्चः स्थूलशरीरादिभौतिकश्च प्रपञ्च उत्पद्यते, तदा जाग्रदवस्था । तदा व्यष्टयभिमान्यात्मा विश्वः, समष्टयभिमान्यात्मा विराट् । व्यष्टयभिमानस्त्वज्ञानदशायाम् । समष्टयभिमानस्त्वपरोक्षसाक्षात्कारानन्तरम् । तदानीं सर्वस्य जगतः परमात्मनि कल्पितत्वदर्शनात् । यावन्मयि परमात्मभूते जगत्प्रकल्पितमिति न पश्यति तावदद्वैतात्मसाक्षात्कारो नास्त्येवेति श्रुत्यभिप्रायः । तथा हि—"तदाहुः यद्ब्रह्मविद्यया सर्व्वं भविष्यन्तो मनुष्या मन्यन्ते । किमु तद् ब्रह्मावेद्यस्मात्तत्सर्वमभवदिति[७१]" इति शिष्येण ब्रह्मसाक्षात्कारेण सर्वशब्दवाच्यः प्रपञ्चोऽहमिति ज्ञानं जायते स कि(की) दृशः साक्षात्कार इति

---

is functionally fivefold. viz., *prāṇa* (life-breath, residing in the heart and above), *apāna* (out-breath in the organs of excretion and generation), *vyāna* (diffused breath in all parts of body), *udāna* (up-breath in the chest and throat), and *samāna* (equalising breath in the stomach, leading food and energy equally to all parts of body). This subtle body of seventeen components and the corresponding subtle world are produced in the state of dream. The same (primeval) consciousness illusorily transformed is the dream-state. Then, the Self having the conceit of the individual is called *taijasaḥ* and that having the conceit of the whole is called *hiraṇyagarbhaḥ*. Thereafter the same consciousness gets transformed illusorily through quintuplication into gross world, consisting of five elements. Then the material world made of the gross body etc. is produced. This is the state of waking. Then the Self having the conceit of the individual is called *viśva* and that having the conceit of the whole is called *virāt*. The conceit in the individual occurs in the state of ignorance, and the conceit in the whole occurs after immediate perception (of the non-dual Self). Because then, the whole world is perceived as imagined (appears illusorily) in the Supreme Person. The purport of the scripture is that there is indeed no realisation (direct perception) of the non-dual Self until one perceives that in my real nature as the Supreme Person, the world appears illusorily. To explain, the student questioned as to what is the structure of the direct perception of lhe *Brahman* through which the knowledge in the form, ' I am the world ' arises, the world in the present context being denoted by the term "all". The question of the student is presented in the scripture :—" they say, since men think that by the knowledge of *Brahman*, they become all, what, pray, was it that *Brahman* knew by which it become all ? "

---

[७१] तत्रैव, १.४.९

पृष्टः गुरुः प्रश्नानुरूपमुत्तरं दत्तवान् "ब्रह्म वा इदमग्र आसीत्। तदात्मानमेवावेदहं ब्रह्मास्मीति। तस्मात्तत्सर्वमभवत् [७२]"। इत्यादिना सर्व्वभावो गुरुणाऽङ्गीकृतः। तत्राद्वितीयसाक्षात्कारे जाते सर्वभावः कस्य जात इति शिष्याभिप्रायं ज्ञात्वा गुरुणोक्तम्:-- "तद्धैतत्पश्यन्नृषिर्वामदेवः प्रतिपेदेऽहं मनुरभवँ सूर्यश्चेति[७३]" इति वामदेवेनाद्वि(द्वै)तसाक्षात्कारसमानकाले स्वस्मिन् जगत् प्रकल्पितं द्रष्टम्।

न च समाध्यवस्थायामद्वैतानुभवो, विक्षेपावस्थायां स्वस्मिन् जगत्कल्पितानुभवश्च भवतु, अपरोक्षानुभवत्वेऽपि वामदेवस्यापि तथैवानुभवत्वादिति वाच्यम्। इयमेव श्रुतिः अद्वैतसाक्षात्कारसर्वात्मभावयोः समानकालीनत्वं ज्ञापयति वामदेवस्यैवानुभवत्वेन। अन्यथा शन् प्रत्ययो न स्यात्। शन्प्रत्ययो युगपत् क्रियाद्वयं बोधयति, तिष्ठन् गायतीति वत्। भाष्यकारैरपि समन्वयाधिकरणे तथैव व्याख्यातत्वात्। तस्मात्तदेव चैतन्यं शरीरद्वयाकारेण प्रपञ्चद्वयाकारेण च विवर्त्तते। तच्चैतन्यमेव सत्यं शरीरद्वयं प्रपञ्चद्वयञ्च मिथ्या। तच्चैतन्यं त्वमसीति नातिरिक्तं किञ्चिदिति सिद्धम्। भागत्यागलक्षणया(इदं)बोध(द्ध)व्यम्।

The preceptor when questioned thus tendered rejoinder appropriate to the question : "*Brahman*, indeed, was this in the beginning. It knew itself only as 'I am *Brahman*'. Therefore it became all". By all this the preceptor admitted (the possibility of) becoming all. Knowing the implicit question of the student as to in whose case this becoming all occured, the preceptor said : "Seeing this, indeed, the seer Vāmadeva knew 'I became Manu and the Sun too : (*Ṛgveda*, IV. 26.1), Bṛ. Up. I. 4.10. At the time of the realisation of the non-dual (Self), Vāmadeva perceived the world as being an illusory apperance within himself.

It cannot be urged, that let in the state of trance there be the experience of the non-dual (Self), and in the state of distraction let there be the experience of the illusory appearance of the world in oneself, because Vāmadeva had that kind of experience which was of the nature of immediate experience, for the same scripture avers the simultaneity of the direct perception of the non-dual (Self) and being the self of all, as the experience of Vāmadeva himself. Otherwise there would not be the (use of the) suffix, *śan*. The suffix *śan* denotes simultaneity of two actions, as in '(He) sings (while) standing'. The commentator (Śaṅkara) also has explained it in the same manner in the section called as '*samanvaya*' or synthesis, that the *Brahman* is the unitary topic of all Upaniṣad-texts. The same consciousness, therefore, illusorily appears in the form of the two bodies and the two (gross and subtle) worlds. That consciousness alone is real and the two bodies and the two worlds are unreal. You are that consciousness. It is proved that apart from it nothing really exists. This should be comprehended by adopting the secondary meaning called *lakṣaṇā* in which a portion of the meaning is rejected.

---

[७२] तत्रैव, १.४.१०

[७३] ऋग्वेदः, ४.२६.१

लक्षणा तावत् त्रिविधा। जहत्स्वार्था, अजहत्स्वार्था, जहदजहत्स्वार्था च। जहत्स्वार्था नाम :—वाक्य(च्या)र्थमशेषतः परित्यज्य, तत्सम्बन्धिन्यर्थान्तरे वृत्तिः। गङ्गायां गो(घो)षः प्रतिवसति, मञ्चाः क्रोशन्ति, मनो ब्रह्मेत्यादिवत्। अजहत्स्वार्था नाम :—वाच्यार्थापरित्यागेनार्थान्तरे वृत्तिः, शोणो धावति, श्वेतस्तिष्ठति, सत्यं ज्ञानमानन्दं ब्रह्मेत्यादिवत्। जहदजहत्स्वार्था नाम :—वाच्यार्थैकदेशं परित्यज्यैकदेशार्थे वृत्तिः। यथा सोऽयं देवदत्त इति वाक्यवत्। वाक्यार्थसाक्षात्कारे प्रतिपदार्थसाक्षात्कारस्य कारणत्वात। यथा सोऽयं देवदत्त इति वाक्ये स्ववाक्या(च्या)र्थविरोधि परोक्षापरोक्षं देशकालादिकं परित्यज्याविरुद्धं पूर्वपदार्थज्ञाने विशिष्टत्वेन साक्षात्कृतमेव देवदत्तमात्रमुभाभ्यां पदाभ्यां लक्षयित्वा सोऽयं देवदत्त इत्येकत्वमेव प्रतिपादयति य(त)था।

तथा तत्त्वमसीति वाक्यमपि त्वंपदस्य वाच्यार्थः स्थूलसूक्ष्मदेहद्वयं, तत्कारणमज्ञानविशिष्टत्वम्, तत्र वाच्यार्थपरित्यागेन लक्षा(क्ष्या)र्थं बोधयति। देहत्रयविशिष्टस्य परस्पर-

Lakṣaṇā or the secondary meaning is of three kinds: 1. *jahatsvārthā* or that in which the primary meaning is rejected, 2. *ajahatsvārthā* or that in which the primary meaning is not rejected and 3. *jahadajahatsvārthā* that is rejecting and retaining (partially) the primary meaning. (Among these three) the *jahatsvārthā* is that which, while rejecting the primary meaning completely, connotes secondary meaning related to the earlier. For instance 'there is cottage in the Ganges', 'the bedsteads (or coaches) creak', 'mind is *Brahman*' etc. (in these sentences the words 'Ganges', 'coaches' and 'mind' are not taken to mean 'the flow of water', 'the frame of bedstead' and the 'psyche' but 'the bank of Ganges', 'the persons mounted on the bedstead', and 'the spirit' respectively). *Ajahatsvārthā* is that *lakṣaṇā* in which the primary meaning is not rejected, nevertheless, the word connotes another meaning, e.g., 'the red runs', 'the white stands', 'the Brahman is truth, knowledge and bliss' etc. (in these instances, the words 'red', 'white' and 'truth' connote 'red horse', 'white horse' and '*Brahman* that is different from the untruth' respectively). *jahadajahatsvārthā* is that *lakṣaṇā* in which the word retains a fraction of the primary meaning, suppressing another fraction, e.g., 'it is the same Devadatta'. For in understanding the meaning of a sentence, the understanding of the meaning of each word used is the cause. As the sentence, 'it is the same Devadatta' brings about the non-contradictory sameness of the individual Devadatta, indicated by both the terms, and apprehended as the particular individual, while understanding the meaning of the terms (constituents of the sentence), rejecting the different times, i.e. the past and present and the different places, i.e., that and this place which are contradictory to the sense of the sentence.

Similarly the sentence 'that art thou' also indicates the secondary meaning (i.e. the witnessing consciousness), rejecting the primary meaning of the term

व्यभिचारात् । अवस्थात्रयस्य साक्षिज्ञानं त्वंपदस्य लक्षा(क्ष्या)र्थः । एवं तत्पदस्य वाच्यार्थः स्थूलसूक्ष्मप्रपञ्चद्वयस्य कर्तृत्वादिकम् । तत्कर्तृत्वादिकं भ्रान्तिप्रकल्पितं, परमार्थं तु तदधिष्ठानभूतं साक्षिचैतन्यं लक्षा(क्ष्या)र्थः । एवं पदद्वयस्य लक्षा(क्ष्या)र्थं ज्ञात्वा पश्चादसि इति पदेन तदेव चैतन्यमिति बोधो वाक्यार्थः । तथा हि :—सुषुप्तावेतस्मिन्नेव साक्षिचैतन्ये परमात्मनि प्रपञ्चस्य लयः । स्वप्ने जागरणे चैतस्मात्परमात्मनः साक्षिचैतन्यात्स्थूलसूक्ष्मोभयविधः प्रपञ्च उत्पद्यते । तस्मादिदमेव चैतन्यं नित्यशुद्धबुद्धमुक्तस्वरूपः परमात्मैव । प्रपञ्चस्तु भ्रान्तिप्रकल्पितः । तदेव चैतन्यं त्वमसीति वाक्यार्थो गुरुणोक्तः । शिष्यः श्रवणमनननिदिध्यासनैः प्रमाणगतासंभावना(नां), प्रमेयगतासंभावना(नां) विपरीतभावना(नां) च नाशयित्वा साक्षात्कारं करोतीति सिद्धम् ।

ननु महावाक्यादपरोक्षसाक्षात्कारो जायत इत्युक्तं, तदशुद्धम्, वाक्यादपरोक्षसाक्षात्कारस्य क्वाप्यदर्शनाद्वाक्यजन्यज्ञानस्य पा(प)रोक्षत्वनियमात्, कर्मकाण्डगतवाक्यात् स्वर्गवदिति चेन्न । परमात्मनः सर्वदैवापरोक्षत्वात् । यदि परमात्मा परोक्ष एव स्यात् तदा महावाक्येनापि नापरोक्षीकर्तुं शक्येत । किन्तु परमात्मा अपरोक्ष एव भवति, अज्ञानेन परोक्ष इव

'thou' viz., the gross and the subtle bodies and their cause, the ignorance. For, the particular individual qualified by the three bodies (and the Lord denoted by the term 'that') are mutually exclusive. The indicated sense of the term 'thou' is the witnessing knowledge in the three states. Similarly the primary meaning of the term 'that' is the creator etc. of both the gross and the subtle worlds. The creatorship etc. is illusory, the reality being its substrate, the witnessing consciousness, which is the secondary meaning (of the term 'that'). After knowing the secondary meaning of both the terms ('thou' and 'that') in this manner, the knowledge of the oneness of that consciousness through the verb *asi* (or 'art') is gained by the secondary sense of the sentence (*tattvamasi*). To explain, in the state of deep sleep the world merges in the Supreme Person of the nature of witnessing consciousness. In the states of dream and waking, from the same Supreme Person of the nature of witnessing consciousness, both the subtle and gross worlds emerge. This very consciousness, therefore, is the Supreme Person of the eternal, pure, enlightened and free nature. The world is illusory appearance. The preceptor, by way of the sense of the sentence, conveyed (the truth) that thou art the same consciousness. It is established that the disciple attains the perception (of the Self) after overcoming the impossibility inherent in the means of knowledge and in the object of knowledge (as to how can the finite mind apprehend the infinite truth) and also after destroying the contrary conviction (that I cannot be anything but the bodies), through hearing, reflection and constant contemplation.

भासते—“ यत्साक्षादपरोक्षाद् ब्रह्म य आत्मा सर्वान्तर ”[७४] इति श्रुतेः । तदज्ञानं महावाक्येन दूरि(री)क्रियते तदा अपरोक्षसाक्षात्कारो जात इव मन्यते । यथा दशमस्त्वमसीतिवाक्ये स्वस्यापरोक्षत्वे विद्यमानेऽपि अज्ञानेन नास्ति दशमोऽत्र, किन्त्वन्यत्र गत इति मन्यते तदानीमपि दशमापरोक्षत्वं भवत्येव, अज्ञानावृतत्वान्न जानाति । तदेवाज्ञानं दशमस्त्वमसीति वाक्येन दूरीकृतं तदा अपरोक्षसाक्षात्कारो जात इव मन्यते । तथाऽत्रापि परमात्मा साक्षिचैतन्यस्वरूपेणापरोक्ष एव भवति, तदज्ञानेन नायं परमात्मेति मन्यते । तत्र “ तत्त्वमसी ”ति महावाक्येनाज्ञाने नाशिते (अ)परोक्षसाक्षात्कारो जायत एव । तस्मान्महावाक्यादपरोक्षसाक्षात्कारो जायत इति सिद्धम । तदुक्तं वार्त्तिककारैः—

But the statement that by the great dictum (that thou art) one attains the immediate perception (of the Self) is inaccurate, for it is in no case seen that a sentence gives rise to immediate perception, since as a rule the knowledge generated by a sentence is mediate, for example (the attainment of) heaven from the sentence in the *karmakāṇḍa* section (like one, desirous of heaven, should sacrifice). This is not so, (we rejoin) for the Supreme Person is always present immediately. Had the Supreme Person been not present immediately, indeed, his immediate perception could not have been made possible, even by the great dictum. But the Supreme Person is, verily, present immediately; through ignorance he appears as if not so present, because the scripture states : “ The *Brahman* that is immediately present and directly perceived ”, (Bṛ. Up. III. 4.1). This ignorance is removed by the great dictum. Then it is believed, as if, the immediate perception (of the Self) is gained. For instance, in the sentence “ you are the tenth (person) ”, one is assumed to be ignorant about one's being the tenth, though one's presence is directly perceived, but through ignorance it is believed that the tenth is not present but has gone elsewhere. During that period of ignorance too, the direct perception of the tenth is continuous, but is not known as it is covered by ignorance. When that ignorance is removed by the sentence, “ you are the tenth (person) ”, it is believed, as if, the direct perception (of the tenth) is gained. Analogously in this case also the Supreme Person is directly perceived as the witnessing consciousness; through ignorance one believes that it is not the Supreme Person. In this regard, when the ignorance is destroyed by the great dictum, “ That thou art ”, the immediate perception (of the Self) is, indeed, brought about. It is, therefore, proved that the direct perception (of the Self) does occur through the great dictum. The same has been stated by the *vārttikakāra* (Sureśvarācārya) :—

---

[७४] बृहदारण्यकोपनिषद्, ३.४.१-२

“ तत्त्वमस्यादिवाक्योत्थसम्यक्धि(धी)जन्ममात्रतः ।
अविद्या सह कार्येण नासीदस्ति भविष्यति[७५] ” ॥ इति ।

ननु जन्मादिषड्भावविकाररहितोऽविक्रियोऽकर्त्तैकोऽहमात्मेति न कस्यचित्साक्षात्कारो जायते । श्रुतिविरोधात्प्रत्यक्षविरोधाच्च । तथा च श्रुति :–“ न दृष्टेर्द्रष्टारं पश्येर्नश्रुतेः श्रोतारँ शृणुया(:), न मतेर्मन्तारं मन्वीथा(:), न विज्ञातेर्विज्ञातारं विजानीया[७६] ” इति । “ यतो वाचो निवर्तन्ते अप्राप्य मनसा सह[७७] ” इति । शब्दस्पर्शादिधर्माभावादिन्द्रियागोचरत्वाच्च । तस्मादात्मसाक्षात्कारे प्रमाणाभावान्न महावाक्येनापि साक्षात्कार इति, सत्यम् । यद्यप्यात्मा नेन्द्रियगोचरस्तथापि महावाक्यादात्मसाक्षात्कारो जायते । “ तं त्वौपनिषदं पुरुषं पृच्छामि[७८] ” इति श्रुतेः ।

ननु भवत्वौपनिषदः पुरुषस्तथापि इन्द्रियागोचरत्वान्न साक्षात्कार इति चेन्न ।

“ By the generation of right knowledge, arising from the dictum like “ that thou art ”, the ignorance together with its effects is known to be non-existent in the past, present and future ” (Bṛ. Up. Bhā. Vā. Verse No. 183).

But none has the perception that I am the one, changeless, actionless Self devoid of the six modifications of substance (viz. generation, existence, growth, modification, decay and destruction), because it is contradicted both by the scripture and direct experience. To explain, the scriptures state : “ You cannot see the seer of seeing, you cannot hear the hearer of hearing, yon cannot think the thinker of thinking, you cannot understand the understander of understanding ”, (Bṛ. Up. III. 4.2). “ Whence words return along with mind, not attaining it ”, (Taitt. Up. II. 4.1). It is devoid of the attributes like sound, palpability and others and consequently is not the object of senses. Due, therefore, to the absence of valid means of knowing the Self, there is no (direct) perception of the Self even by the great scriptural dictum. We agree (partially) that though it is true that the Self is not sensible, nevertheless, the perception of the Self occurs by the great dictum, (we assert) on the strength of the scriptural statement, “ I ask you about the Person taught in the Upaniṣads ”, (Bṛ. Up. III. 9.26).

It cannot be urged that there might be the Person taught in the Upaniṣads, still, because of his non-sensibility, there cannot be his perception, for though not sensible, he can be perceived through mind. Nor can it be urged that despite (the Self) being amenable to mental perception, the scriptural statement, “ you

---

[७५] श्रीसुरेश्वराचार्यकृत **बृहदारण्यकभाष्यवार्त्तिकम्**, संबन्धवार्तिकम्, १८३, सम्पादक आगाशे काशीनाथ शास्त्री, आनन्दाश्रम प्रेस, पूना, १८९४, पृष्ठम्, ५८

[७६] बृहदारण्यकोपनिषद्, ३. ४. २

[७७] तैत्तिरीयोपनिषद्, २.४.१

[७८] बृहदारण्यकोपनिषद्, ३.९.२६

इन्द्रियाविषयत्वेऽपि मानसप्रत्यक्षत्वात्। न च मानसप्रत्यक्षत्वेऽपि “ न मतेर्मन्तारं मन्वीथे (था इ)ति ” श्रुतिविरोध इति वाच्यम्। यद्यपि प्रत्यक्षादिप्रमाणागोचरत्वान्न लौकिकं मन आत्मसाक्षात्कारे करणम्। तथापि शास्त्राचार्योपदेशशमदमादिसंस्कृतं मनः आत्मदर्शने करणम्। न च तादृशस्य मनसः करणत्वे किं प्रमाणमिति वाच्यम्। “ मनसैवानुद्रष्टव्यम[७९] ” इति, “ दृश्यते त्वग्र(ग्र्य)या बुद्ध्या सूक्ष्मया सूक्ष्मदर्शिभिः[८०] ” इति श्रुतेः। तस्मान्महावाक्यात्, शास्त्राचार्योपदेशशमदमादिसंस्कृते मनसि आत्मसाक्षात्कारो जायत इति सिद्धम्।

ननु महावाक्येनात्मसाक्षात्कारो जायते न वा?। जायते चेदज्ञाननिवृत्त्या शरीरनिवृत्ति(:) स्यात्। न च प्रारब्धकर्मप्रतिबन्धकत्वादज्ञानकार्यत्त्वेऽपि न शरीरं नश्यतीति वाच्यम्। प्रारब्धकर्मा(र्मणोऽ)पि अज्ञानकार्यत्वात् तन्तुनाशे पटनाशवदज्ञाननाशेन प्रारब्धस्यापि निवृत्तिप्रसङ्गात् (निवृत्तेः न्याय्यत्वात्)। ननु यथा मुक्तेषौ कारणे नष्टेऽपि वेगाख्यं कार्यं जायते, तद्वत् अज्ञाने नष्टेऽपि प्रारब्धं स्थास्यतीति चेन्न। द्रष्टान्तोऽसमञ्जसः। तत्र तु

---

cannot think the thinker of thinking" is contradicted, because though the mind obsessed with worldly pursuits is not (accepted as) a tool in the perception of the Self that is not the object of sense-perception and other means of knowledge, nevertheless, the mind, cultured through the instruction of the scripture and that of the preceptor and by tranquility of mind and Self-control, becomes a capable tool for Self-realisation. It cannot be urged as to what is the supporting evidence of such a mind becoming a tool. Because there are the scriptural statements, "Only by the mind is it to be perceived", (Bṛ. Up. IV. 4.19). "(The Self) can be seen by those endowed with subtle perception, through their sharp and subtle intelligence", (Kaṭha. Up. I. 3.12). It is, therefore, established that the perception of the Self does occur through the great dictum in the mind that is cultured by the instruction of the scripture and the preceptor and by tranquility of mind and self-control.

But does the perception of the Self occur by the great dictum or not? If it occurs, the body will get dissolved because of the elimination of ignorance. It cannot be urged that though the body is the effect of ignorance, it does not get destroyed, because of the obstruction by the (operative) action that has already started yielding the results, for even the operative action is also the effect of ignorance and like the destruction of cloth on the destruction of the threads, the operative action should be destroyed, on the destruction of ignorance. As, indeed, when an arrow is discharged, the effect in the form of speed remains, though the cause (the act of discharging it) ceases to operate, even so when the ignorance is destroyed the operative action will remain. This is not so, because

---

[७९] बृहदारण्यकोपनिषद्, ४, ४, १९ [८०] कठोपनिषद्, १. ३.१२

निमित्तकारणस्य नष्टत्वाद्वेगस्योपादानमिषुस्तस्य तु विद्यमानत्वात्। अत्र तु प्रारब्धस्योपादानमज्ञानम्, तस्य तु नष्टत्वात्। "क्षीयन्ते चास्य कर्मा(णि) तस्मिन्दृष्टे परावरे[८१]" इति श्रुतेः। "ज्ञानाग्निः सर्वकर्माणि भस्मसात्कुरुतेऽर्जुन[८२]" इति स्मृतेश्च। आत्मसाक्षात्कारो न जायते चेत, महावाक्येनापि ज्ञानानुत्पत्तौ ज्ञानोत्पत्तिरेव न स्यात। ज्ञानं प्रति महावाक्यातिरिक्तसाधनाभावात्। तस्मात्साक्षात्कार एव न सिद्ध्यतीति चेन्न। महावाक्येनात्मसाक्षात्कारो जायत एव। न चाज्ञाननिवृत्त्या शरीरनिवृत्ति(:) स्यादिति वाच्यम। न च प्रारब्धेन प्रतिबद्धत्वान्न शरीरनिवृत्ति(:) स्यात्। न च प्रारब्धस्याप्यज्ञानकार्यत्वादज्ञाननिवृत्या निवृत्तिप्रसङ्ग इति वाच्यम्। प्रारब्धस्य निवृत्यङ्गीकारे जीवन्मुक्तप्रतिपादकशास्त्रं बाध्येत। न च जीवन्मुक्तप्रतिपादकशास्त्रमर्थवाद इति वाच्यम्। एवं सति याज्ञवल्क्यादेराचार्यत्वं न स्यात्। आत्मसाक्षात्कारेण प्रारब्धस्य नाशितत्वात्। न च याज्ञवल्क्यादेर्जनकं प्रत्याचार्यदशायां

the instance is inept. In the instance, though the instrumental cause ceases to operate, the arrow that is the material cause of speed, continues to operate. But in the matter to be proved, ignorance is the material cause of operative action which is eliminated, on the strength of the scriptural and *smṛti* statements :— "And all his actions terminate, when He—the allinclusive (Self)—is seen", (Muṇḍ. Up. II. 2.9). "The fire of knowledge turns to ashes all actions, O Arjun", (Bh. G. IV. 37). And if the perception of the Self does not occur, since it follows that knowledge is not produced even by the great dictum, there will never occur the production of knowledge. Because for knowledge, there is no other means but the great dictum. Therefore, it is established that the immediate perception (of the Self), indeed, never takes place. We rejoin, no. (we assert that) by the great dictum, the direct perception of the Self does take place. Neither can it be urged that the body will get dissolved on the elimination of ignorance, nor that the body will not get dissolved because of the obstruction of the operative action; nor again that because the operative action is the effect of ignorance, on the elimination of ignorance, there will arise the contingency of the elimination of the operative action too. Because if elimination of the operative action is admitted, the scripture establishing (the possibility of the existence of) a liberated person, while alive, will be contradicted. Nor can it be urged that the scripture establishing the existence of a liberated person while alive may be deemed as eulogistic. In that case the preceptorship of Yājñavalkya and others will not be authentic. For their operative action would have been destroyed by Self-realisation. Nor can it be urged that during the state of preceptorship of Yājñavalkya and others in respect of Janaka, there is no realisation of *Brahman*

---

[८१] मुण्डकोपनिषद्, २.२.९

[८२] श्रीमद्भगवद्गीता, ४.३७

ब्रह्मसाक्षात्कार एव न भवतीति वाच्यम् । अज्ञस्याचार्यत्वासंभवात् । न च ज्ञानोत्पत्तौ शरीराभावात्, आचार्यं विना ज्ञानासंभवात्, अन्यथाऽनुपपत्त्या, परोक्षज्ञानवानाचार्यः कल्पनि-(नी)यः, नापरोक्षसाक्षात्कारवानिति वाच्यम् । "श्रोत्रियं ब्रह्मनिष्ठम्[८३]" इति श्रुतेः । ब्रह्मनिष्ठ इति साक्षात्कारवानुक्तः ।

"उपदे(क्ष्य)न्ति ते ज्ञानं ज्ञानिनस्तत्त्वदर्शिनः[८४]" इति स्मृतेश्च । अत्रापि तत्त्वदर्शिन इति साक्षात्कारवन्त इत्युक्तत्वात । बहुवचनं तु पु(पू)जार्थम् । न च "क्षीयन्ते चास्य कर्माणि........", "ज्ञानाग्निः सर्वकर्माणि......" इत्यादिश्रुतिस्मृतिविरोधः स्यादिति वाच्यम् । "तस्य तावदेव चिरं यावन्न विमोक्ष्येऽथ सम्पत्स्य[८५]" इति, "तद्यथाऽहिनिर्ल्वयनी वल्मीके[८६]" (इ)त्यादि श्रुतेः । "शरीरस्थोऽपि कौन्तेय न करोति न लिप्यते[८७]" इति स्मृतेश्च ।

---

at all. For an ignorant person cannot become a preceptor. It cannot be urged that because of the exigency arising out of the fact that as on dawning of knowledge the body cannot survive and as without a preceptor there can be no knowledge, we are obliged to assume the existence of a teacher possessing mediate knowledge only, not a preceptor having immediate perception (of the Self). For the scripture states : "(for the knowledge of reality let one approach a teacher who is) learned in the scriptures and established in *Brahman*", (Muṇḍ. Up. I. 2.12). The expression 'established in Brahman' indicates one who has immediate perception (of the Self). The *smṛti* too states : "The men of wisdom who have perceived the truth will instruct thee in knowledge", (Bh. G. IV. 34). Here too by the expression 'seers of truth' those having immediate perception are said. The plural (is used) to indicate honour. It cannot be urged that (in that case) there will arise the contingency of contradiction of scriptural and *smṛti* texts like :—"All his actions are eliminated" and "The fire of knowledge turns to ashes all actions". For there are (other) scriptural and *smṛti* texts that speak of the survival of body of the sage even after knowledge : "I shall remain here only so long as I shall not be released (from the body). Then I shall reach perfection", (Chh. Up. VI. 14.2). "Just as the slough of a snake lies on an anthill (dead, cast off, even so lies this body)" (Bṛ. Up. IV. 4.7). And "(the Self), O son of Kunti, though dwelling in the body, does not act nor is tainted", (Bh. G. XIII. 31). Nor can it be urged that because of

---

[८३] मुण्डकोपनिषद्, १.२.१२

[८४] श्रीमद्भगवद्गीता, ४.३४

[८५] छान्दोग्योपनिषद्, ६.१४.२

[८६] बृहदारण्यकोपनिषद्, ४.४.७

[८७] श्रीमद्भगवद्गीता, १३.३१

विदुषो ज्ञानोत्तरं शरीरस्थितिं दर्शयति। न च परस्परश्रुतिविरोधादुभयोरप्र(प्रा)माण्यं स्यादिति वाच्यम्। सामान्यविशेषभावेनोभयोर्विरोधाभावात्। यथा "न हिंस्यात्सर्व्वाणि भूतानि[८८]" इति सामान्यश्रुतिः "अग्निषोमीयं पशुमालभेत्(त)[८९]" इति विशेषश्रुत्या बाध्येत। तद्वत् "क्षीयन्ते चास्य कर्माणि" इति सामान्यश्रुतिः "तस्य तावदेव चिरम्" इति विशेषश्रुत्या बाध्यते। न चोपादाननिवृत्या कार्यं निवर्त्तत इति नियमादज्ञाननिवृत्या प्रारब्धनिवृत्तिरपि स्यादिति वाच्यम्। यथा नैयायिकानामुपादाने निवृत्तेऽपि क्षणं कार्यं तिष्ठति, तद्वत् श्रुतियुक्तिविद्वदनुभवानुरोधादज्ञाने निवृत्तेऽपि प्रारब्धं स्थास्यतीति न विरोधः।

न च प्रारब्धकर्मवत्संचित्(त)क्रियमाणयोरप्यनिवृत्ति(:) स्यादिति वाच्यम्। "तदु(दधिगम उ)त्तरपूर्वाघयोरश्लेषविनाशौ तद्व्यपदेशाद्[९०]" इत्यधिकरणे तयोर्निवृत्युक्तत्वात्।

---

mutual contradiction, both the scriptural statements will be devoid of validity. For the opposition of the two scriptural statements is resolved because of their general and specific character. For instance, the general scriptural injuction "One should not injure any (all) creature(s)", (Mait. Saṁ. III. 10 7), is sublated by specific injunction: "One should sacrifice the animal for Agni and Soma", (Kaṭh. Saṁ. 24.7). Similarly the general scriptural statement: "All his actions are eliminated" is sublated by the specific one: "I shall remain here only so long" etc. It can not be urged that in accord with the rule 'the effect is (automatically) destroyed on the destruction of the material cause', the operative action will be destroyed on the destruction of the ignorance. As for Naiyāyikas the effect remains for a moment even after destruction of the material cause, analogously the operative action will remain (till the fall of the body) even after the destruction of ignorance, on the strength of scriptural statement, logical thinking and the experience of wise persons.

Moreover, it cannot be urged that like the operative action, the collected (sub-conscous tendencies) actions and the present actions will also not be eliminated, for in the section: "On the attainment of this (Brahman) (there takes place) the non-clinging and destruction of latter and earlier (actions); this being declared (by scripture)", (Br. Su. IV. 1.13) their elimination is categorically stated.

---

[८८] मैत्रायणीसंहिता, ३.१० ७ महाभारते, ३.२०३.१५; १२.२६९.५; ३१६.१८. इति स्थलेषु "न हिंस्यात्सर्वभूतानि" इति पदमुपलभ्यते।

[८९] काठकसंहिता, २४.७

[९०] ब्रह्मसूत्र, ४.१.१३

ननु ब्रह्मसाक्षात्कारानन्तरं स्वाश्रमविहिते कर्मण्यधिकारो भवति न वा ? । कर्मण्यधिकारो भवतीति चेन्न । विद्वदविदुषोर्विशेषो न स्यात् । " एष नित्यो महिमा ब्राह्मणस्य न कर्मणा वर्द्धते नो कनीयान्[९१] " इति श्रुतिविरोधश्च स्यात् । न चेयं श्रुतिः काम्यकर्मनिषेधपरा न नित्यकर्मनिषेधपरेति वाच्यम् । नित्यकर्मणोऽपि प्रत्यवायपरिहाराख्यफलस्य श्रवणात् । उपात्तदुरितक्षयानि नित्यानीति नित्यकर्मलक्षणम् । न चाकरणप्रत्यवायोत्पादकानि नित्यानी-(ति)नित्यकर्मलक्षणत्वान्न फलमिति वाच्यम् । अभावाद्भावोत्पत्त्यदर्शनात् । नित्य(त्या)करणाख्यादभावात्प्रत्यवायाख्यस्य भावस्योत्पत्त्यदर्शनात् । " याज्ञवल्क्यः प(प्र)वव्राज[९२] " इति श्रुत्या ज्ञानोत्तरं नित्यकर्मणोऽपि निषेधश्रवणाच्च । कर्मण्यधिकारो न भवतीति चेन्न । विदुषो यथेष्टाचरणप्रसङ्गात् । न च कर्मण्यधिकाराभावाद्भवतु यथेष्टाचरणमिति वाच्यम् ।

प्रजहाति यदा कामान्सर्वान्पार्थ मनोगतान् ।
आत्मन्येवात्मना तुष्टः स्थितप्रज्ञस्तदोच्यते[९३] ॥

इत्यादि भगवतोक्तस्थितप्रज्ञलक्षणविरोधः स्यात् ।

But after the realisation of *Brahman*, does one have the obligation to perform actions according to one's status in society and stage of life ? If, then, one has the obligation to action, there would be no distinction between an enlightened person and an ignorant one. Moreover, there will be contradiction of the scriptural statement : " This eternal greatness of the knower of *Brahman* is not increased by work nor diminished ", (Br̥. Up. IV. 4.23). Nor can it be urged that this scriptural statement prohibits desire-prompted actions and not the obligatory ones. For even of obligatory actions, the result in the form of removal of obstructions is stated. The obligatory action is defined as that which removes the accumulated evil. Nor can it be urged that since the obligatory action is defined as that by non-performance of which, obstruction is created, there is no result (of the obligatory actions). For there cannot arise something out of nothing. A positive result in the form of obstruction cannot be generated out of non-existence in the form of non-performance of obligatory action. The scriptural statement " Yājñavalkya renounced (home) ", (Br̥. Up. IV. 5.15) prohibits even the obligatory actions, after knowledge. Nor can it be said that in the case of the enlightened, there is no obligation to action, for, then, there will arise the contingency of self-willed conduct. Nor can it be maintained that since there is no obligation to action, let there be self-willed conduct. For in that case the Lord's statement of characteristics of the person of steady intellect and the statement of Sureśvarācārya will be contradicted :—

---

[९१] बृहदारण्यकोपनिषद्, ४.४.२३

[९२] तत्रैव, ४.५.१५ " याज्ञवल्क्यो विजहार " इति काण्वशाखापाठः ।

[९३] श्रीमद्भगवद्गीता, २.५५

बुद्धाद्वैतसतत्त्वस्य यथेष्टाचरणं यदि ।
शूनां तत्त्वदृशाञ्चैव को भेदोऽशुचिभक्षणे[९४] ॥

इति सुरेश्वराचार्यवचनविरोधाच्चेति, तन्न ।

विदुषो न कर्मण्यधिकारः । इष्टानिष्टप्राप्तिपरिहारप्रार्थनाभावात् । न चैवं सति यथेष्टाचरणप्रसङ्ग इति वाच्यम् । यथेष्टाचरणं प्रति रागादेः कारणत्वात् । विदुषो रागाद्यभावात् । न च रागाद्यभावे भोजनादौ प्रवृत्तिर्न स्यात्, तदर्थं रागादिकमवश्यमङ्गीकर्तव्यमिति वाच्यम् । अज्ञदृष्ट्या रागादिमत्त्वेऽपि विद्वद्दृष्ट्या रागाद्यभावात् । न च विद्यमाने रागादौ विद्वद्दृष्ट्या म रागादिकमिति कथं घटत इति वाच्यम् । श्रुत्या तथैव प्रतिपादनात् । न च तादृशी श्रुतिरेव न भवतीति वाच्यम् । "अशरीरं वाव सन्तं न प्रियाप्रिये स्पृशतः[९५]" इति श्रुतेः ।

न चेयं श्रुतिः पतिते शरीरे अशरीरो न जीवदवस्थायामिति वदतीति वाच्यम् ।

" When a man puts away all the desires of his mind, O Pārtha, and when his spirit is content in itself, then is he called steady in intellect ", (Bh. G., II. 55).

" If a person enlightened to the non-dual reality demeans in a self-willed manner, where is the difference between dogs and the wise sages in eating the unclean (things) ", (Bṛ. Up. Bhā. Vā. IV. 668).

(To this contention we say) the enlightened person does not have the obligation to action. For (in his case) there is no desire for obtaining and avoiding the desired and undesirable objects respectively. Nor can it be urged that in that case there will arise the contingency of self-willed conduct. For to the self-willed conduct attachment and the like are the cause and a wise person is devoid of attachment etc. Nor can it be urged that since in the absence of attachment etc. there will be no inclination towards eating etc., attachment etc. (to some extent) should necessarily be admitted. For in view of an ignorant, though the wise appears to possess attachment etc., from the stand-point of the wise there is no attachment etc. Nor can it be urged that despite the existence of attachment etc. how is it consistent to maintain that from the standpoint of the wise there is no attachment etc. For the scripture has established that (i.e. the absence of attachment etc. in the wise). Nor can it be urged that there is no scriptural statement to that effect. For there is indeed the scripture : " Verily, pleasure and pain do not touch one who is bodiless ", (Chā. Up. VIII. 12.1).

It cannot be urged that the scripture tells about the bodiless one only after the body has fallen, not while he is alive. For the same scripture further tells

---

[९४] बृहदारण्यकोपनिषद् भाष्यवार्त्तिकम्, ४.६६८

[९५] छान्दोग्य उपनिषद् ८.१२.१

"नोपजनं स्मरेदिदं शरीरम्[९६]" इत्यग्रे अनयैव श्रुत्या सशरीरस्यैवाशरीरत्वप्रतिपादनात्। न च भवतु सशरीरोऽप्यशरीरः श्रुत्यनुरोधात् तथापि न प्रियाप्रिययोस्तथात्वमिति वाच्यम्। अर्द्धजरतीन्यायप्रसङ्गात्। तस्मादज्ञदृष्टया सशरीरत्वान्न प्रियाप्रिययोरप्यभावः। विद्वद्दृष्टया तु सशरीरोऽप्यशरीर एव भवति। ततश्च प्रियाप्रिययोरप्यभावः।

ननु अज्ञदृष्टयापि प्रियाप्रियशब्दवाच्ये सुखदुःखे श्रुत्याऽङ्गीकृते न रागादिकमिति चेत्, न। सुखदुःखादिकं प्रति धर्मादिद्वारा रागादेः कारणत्वात्। कारणं विना कार्यानुत्पत्तेः। तस्माद्विद्वद्दृष्टया नास्त्येव रागादिः, ततश्च न यथेष्टाचरणम्। तथा च विद्वदविदुषोः कर्तृत्वाकर्तृत्वानेकत्वैकत्वबुद्ध्याश्रययोर्यथैव कर्मण्यधिकारानधिकारौ, तथैव दर्शितं भगवता गीतायाम्। अज्ञं प्रति भगवद्वाक्यम्:—

"न हि कश्चित्क्षणमपि जातु तिष्ठत्यकर्मकृत्।
कार्यते ह्यवशः कर्म सर्वः प्रकृतिजैर्गुणैः[९७]"॥ इति

about the bodilessness with regard to the one having the body : "Not remembering the appendage of this body", (Chā. Up. VIII. 12.3). It cannot further be said that on account of the scripture let the embodied one be considered as bodiless, but its being unaffected by pleasure and pain cannot be admitted for that would involve (incompatibility in argument as in) admitting a woman to be half old (and half young). Therefore, from the view-point of an ignorant, he (the wise) is embodied and not untouched by pleasure and pain. But in view of the wise, he is bodiless though embodied and therefore untouched by pleasure and pain.

But the scripture, even from the point of view of ignorant, accepts happiness and unhappiness denoted by the terms pleasure and pain, and not attachment etc. This is not so, because to happiness and unhappiness, attachment etc. are the cause through merit etc. Without cause the effect cannot arise. Therefore, from the view-point of the wise, there is no attachment etc. and so there is no self-willed conduct. Moreover, the Lord has shown in the *Gītā* that the wise and the ignorant, who hold different understanding about agency and its absence, unity and diversity respectively, have and have not the obligation to action. The statement of the Lord regarding the ignorant :—

"For no one can remain even for a moment without doing work; everyone is made to act helplessly by the impulses born of nature". (Bh. G. III. 5).

---

[९६] तत्रैव, ८.१२.३

[९७] श्रीमद्भगवद्गीता, ३.५

विद्वद्विषयं भगवद्वाक्यम् :—

"सर्वकर्माणि मनसा संन्यस्यास्ते सुखं वशी।
नवद्वारे पुरे देही नैव कुर्वन्न कारयन्[९८]" ॥ इति

तस्माद्विदुषोऽज्ञदृष्ट्या रागादिमत्त्वेऽपि न कर्मण्यधिकारो यथेष्टाचरणप्रसङ्गश्चेति।

ननु 'मनसे'ति वचनात् न वाचिकानां कायिकानां संन्यास इति चेन्न। 'सर्वकर्म्माणी'ति विशेषितत्वात्। न च मानसानामेव सर्वकर्म्मणामिति वाच्यम्। मनोव्यापारपूर्वकत्वात्कायव्यापाराणां मनोव्यापाराभावेऽनुपपत्तेः। शास्त्रीयाणां वाक्कायकर्म्मणां कारणानि मानसानि वर्ज्जयित्वाऽन्यानि सर्वकर्म्माणि मनसा संन्यस्येति चेन्न। 'नैव कुर्वन्न कारयन्' इति विशेषणात्। न च सर्व्वकर्म्मसंन्यासो भगवतोक्तो मरिष्यतो न जीवत इति वाच्यम्। 'नवद्वारे पुरे' देह 'आस्ते' इति विशेषणानुपपत्तेः। न हि सर्व्वकर्म्मसंन्यासेन मृतस्य तद्देहे आसनं संभवति। तस्मात् श्रुतिस्मृत्यनुरोधान्न विदुषः स्वदृष्ट्या कर्मण्यधिकारः। परप्रकल्पितरागादिकं न दोषायेति।

The Lord's statement in respect of the wise :—

"The embodied (soul) who has controlled his nature, having renounced all actions by the mind, (inwardly) dwells at ease in the city of nine gates, neither working nor causing work to be done" (Bh. G. V. 13).

Therefore, from the view-point of the ignorant, though the wise seems to have attachment etc., the latter has no obligation to action and no self-willed conduct.

But because of the phrase "by the mind", there is no renunciation of verbal and bodily actions. This is not so, for the statement is qualified by 'all actions'. Nor all actions that are mental. For as all bodily actions presuppose mental actions, the former cannot be conceived in absence of the latter. It cannot be said (interpreted) that having renounced by mind all actions, except the mental actions that are causal to the verbal and bodily actions, laid down in the scripture. For the statement is qualified by 'neither working nor causing work to be done'. Nor can it be said that the renunciation of all actions enjoined by the Lord is directed to the one who is about to die, not to the living, since the phrase 'dwells at ease in the city of nine gates' will be inconsistent. It is, indeed, not possible for the one who is dead after renouncing all actions, to dwell in that body. Therefore, on the authority of scripture and *smṛti*, the wise, from his own view-point, is not obliged to perform action. The attachment etc. imagined by others do not create any demerit.

---

[९८] तत्रैव, ५.१३

स च जीवन्मुक्तो बाधितानुवृत्त्या शरीरे विद्यमानोऽप्यशरीर एव, सुखदुःखादिशरीरधर्माननुभवन्नप्यननुभवन्नेव, प्रपञ्चं पश्यन्नप्यपश्यन्नेव भवति। "सचक्षुरचक्षुः सकर्ण अकर्णः[९९]" इति श्रुतेः।

"नैव किञ्चित्करोमीति युक्तो मन्येत तत्त्ववित्।
पश्यन्श्रृण्वन्स्पृशञ्जिघ्रन्नश्नन्गच्छन्स्वपन्श्वसन्[१००]" ॥

इति स्मृतेश्च।

ननु ज्ञानं नाम शास्त्राचार्योपदेशशमदमादिसंस्कृतमनोव्यापार इति चेत्, ज्ञानध्यानयोर्मानसि(सी)क्रियात्वात्पर्यायत्वम्। ततश्च ध्यानावस्थायां प्रपञ्चलयपूर्वकब्रह्मसाक्षात्कारो जायते। विक्षेपावस्थायां तु प्रपञ्चदर्शनेन ब्रह्मसाक्षात्काराभावः पर्यायेण जायते। न युगपद्ब्रह्मप्रपञ्चदर्शनं परस्परविरोधात्। द्वैताद्वैतदर्शनयोस्तम(:)प्रकाशवत् (परस्परविरोधात्)। द्वैतदर्शनेनाद्वैतदर्शनस्य बाधितत्वात्। श्रुतिरपि ब्रह्मसाक्षात्कारेण प्रपञ्चस्य निषेधं करोति ध्यानावस्थायाम्। "यत्र त्वस्य सर्वमात्मैवाभूत् तत्केन कं पश्येत्" इत्यादिना। विक्षेपावस्थायां प्रपञ्चदर्शनेन ब्रह्मसाक्षात्कारं(राभावं)च दर्शयति :—"यत्र हि द्वैतमिव भवति

Such a person, liberated while alive, by continuity of what is sublated, though present in the body is indeed, disembodied, though experiencing the bodily qualities of happiness and unhappiness, is verily not experiencing them, though seeing the world, in truth, does not see it, as the scripture states : "Though having eyes, he is without eyes, though having ears, he is without ears", (Bh. Jā. Up. II. 7), and also the *smṛti* states :

"The man who is united with the Divine and knows the truth thinks, 'I do nothing at all', though seeing, hearing, touching, smelling, tasting, walking, sleeping and breathing", (Bh. G. V. 8).

But if knowledge is admitted to be the activity of mind that is disciplined through the instruction of the scripture and preceptor, tranquility and self-control, terms knowledge and meditation would be synonyms insofar as both are mental activities. It will have to be admitted then that in meditative state, the perception of Brahman occurs, on the dissolution of the world. But in the state of distraction, the world appears, and the perception of the Brahman ceases alternatively. There is no simultaneous perception of the Brahman and the world, for both are mutually contradictory. Perception of duality and that of non-duality are mutually contradictory like darkness and light. The perception of non-duality is sublated by that of duality. The scripture too by the perception

---

[९९] भस्मजाबालोपनिषद्, २.७

[१००] श्रीमद्भगवद्गीता, ५. ८.

तदितर इतरं पश्यति[१०१]" इति । "यत्र वा अन्यदिव स्यात् तत्रान्योऽन्यत्पश्येत्[१०२]" इत्यादिना । ततश्च ध्यानविक्षेपाख्यकालभेदेन ब्रह्मप्रपञ्चौ पश्यति तत्र कथमुक्तं बाधितानुवृत्त्या शरीरादिप्रपञ्चान्तं पश्यन्नप्यपश्यन्नेव युगपद्भवतीति चेन्न । ज्ञानध्यानयोर्मानसि(सी) क्रियात्वाविशेषेऽपि लक्षणभेदाद्भेदः । तथा हि, प्रमाणजन्यं वस्तुविषयमजन्यफलं ज्ञानम् । पुरुषेच्छाप्रयत्नजन्यं वस्तुनिरपेक्षं जन्यफलं ध्यानमिति ध्यानलक्षणम् । ध्यानञ्च पुरुषेच्छया कर्तुमकर्तुमन्यथाकर्तुं शक्यम् । न तथा ज्ञानम् । यथा शालि(ल)ग्रामे विष्णुत्वबुद्धिर्ध्यानम् । पाषाणत्वबुद्धिः ज्ञानम् । तत्र ब्राह्मणादिभिर्विष्णुत्वं स्वबुद्ध्या कल्प (ल्प्य)ते, न म्लेच्छादिभिः । ज्ञानं तु कर्तुमकर्तुमन्यथाकर्तुमशक्यं वस्तुविषयत्वात्, पुरुषेच्छाप्रयत्नसाध्याभावाच्च । अनिच्छयाऽपि दुर्गंधत्वज्ञानदर्शनात् । ज्ञानं तु वस्तुविषयम् । यथा सुखे चोत्पन्नसत्वे साक्षात्कारो जायते ।

of Brahman in the meditative state, negates the world :—"Where, verily, everything has become the Self, then whereby and whom should one see", (Bṛ. Up. II. 4.14). And in the state of distraction, on the perception of the world, it shows the absence of the perception of Brahman :—"Where, there is duality as it were, there one sees the other", (Bṛ. Up. II. 4.14). "Where, verily, there is, at it were, another, there one might see the other", (Bṛ. Up. IV. 3.31). When (the wise) sees the Brahman and the world at different times of meditation and distraction, why should it be maintained that through the continuity of what is sublated, he, at the same time, seeing the body and the world, does not indeed see them ? This contention, we reply, is unwarranted. For though both knowledge and meditation are mental activities, they are different as their definitions differ. To explain, knowledge is objective, generated through the valid means of knowledge and giving rise to no result (other than knowledge itself). Whereas meditation is defined as that which is subjective or dependent on an individual's desire and effort, independent of the object, and which gives rise to (specific) result. Meditation, moreover, depending upon the individual's desire, can be done, cannot be done or can be done in a different manner. This is not the case with knowledge. For instance, the assumption of Viṣṇu in *Śālagrāma* is meditation and the understanding of it as a stone is knowledge. In it the assumption of Viṣṇu is made by the *Brāhmaṇas* etc. by their intellect, not by *mleccha* and others. Knowledge, objective as it is, cannot be made, not made or made otherwise, as it does not depend on individual's desire and effort. For it is seen that the knowledge of bad odour occurs despite the absence of desire. Knowledge is always about an object. For instance, when happiness is produced, the same is perceived. Otherwise there would be perception of happiness even

---

[१०१] बृहदारण्यकोपनिषद्, २.४.१४

[१०२] तत्रैव, ४.३.३१

अन्यथा दुःखवेलायामपि सुखप्रत्यक्षं जायेत । न च दुःखसमये सुखविषयकपुरुषेच्छाभावान्न सुखप्रत्यक्षमिति वाच्यम् । सुखविषयकपुरुषेच्छाभावस्याप्रसिद्धत्वात् । ततो ज्ञानं वस्तुविषयं, न पुरुषेच्छातंत्रम् । ध्यानं वस्तुनिरपेक्षं जायते । यथा "योषा वाऽग्निर्गौतम[१०३]" इत्यादि-वाक्येन योषायामग्नित्वं वस्तुनिरपेक्षं ध्यानेन जायते, न तत्सत्यं योषास्पर्शेन दाहकार्यानुदयात् । यदग्नावग्नित्वं तत्तु सत्यमेव वस्तुविषयत्वेन दाहादिकार्यदर्शनात् ।

न च जीवात्मनि ब्रह्मविषयकध्यानं ज्ञानमेव भवतु वस्तुविषयत्वादिति वाच्यम् । वस्तुविषयत्वेऽपि न तज्ज्ञानं पुरुषेच्छयोत्पाद्यमानत्वात् । यद्यपि जीवो वस्तुतो ब्रह्मैव । तथाप्यस्याज्ञानावृतत्वान्नाहं ब्रह्मेति निश्चयाच्च । यथा "मनो ब्रह्मे"ति[१०४] वाक्ये मनसि ब्रह्मत्वं ध्यानार्थं न वस्तुतस्तथात्रापि । तथा च ज्ञानध्यानयोर्विशेषात् ध्यानाद्भिन्नं ज्ञानमिति । तथा सति ध्यानावस्थायां ब्रह्म-साक्षात्कारो, न विक्षेपावस्थायामित्यपि तुच्छम् । वस्तुविषयत्वा-

in the moments of unhappiness. It cannot be urged that since in the moments of unhappiness, there is no desire on the part of the individual, for happiness, there is no perception of happiness. For the absence of man's desire for happiness is inconceivable. Knowledge, therefore, is objective and not dependent upon the individual's desire. Meditation arises independent of the object. For instance by the scriptural sentence "Woman, O Gautama, is, verily, fire", (Bṛ. Up. VI.2.13 and Chh. Up. V. 8.1), the quality of fire in woman is assumed through meditation, which is independent of the object; and since by touching the woman, there is no experience of burning, it is false. The quality of fire in fire is true, since it is objective and causes burning etc.

Moreover, it cannot be urged that the meditation on an individual soul as *Brahman* may be indeed considered as knowledge, as it is objective. For though objective, that knowledge cannot be produced by the desire of an individual. Though, in truth (that is objectively) the individual soul is verily *Brahman*, nevertheless he is covered by ignorance and entertains the determination that I am not *Brahman*. As in the (scriptural) sentence : "Mind is *Brahman*", (Chā. Up. III. 18.1), the character of *Brahman* is (to be) assumed in the case of mind, not in reality, so is the present case. Therefore, as there is distinct specificity of knowledge and meditation, the former is different from the

---

[१०३] तत्रैव, ६.२. १३, छान्दोग्य उपनिषद्, ५.८.१ इत्यत्र "योषा वाव गौतमाग्निः" इति पाठः ।

[१०४] छान्दोग्य उपनिषद्, ३.१८.१

ज्ज्ञानस्य । विषयोऽद्वितीयं ब्रह्मेति । तस्य तु नित्यत्वाद् व्यापकत्वात् स्वात्मत्वाद्विक्षेपावस्थायां कथमप्रत्यक्षं स्यात् । आत्मसाक्षात्कारस्त्वज्ञानावस्थायामहं दुःखीति विद्यमानत्वात् । ज्ञानावस्थायां तु तस्यैवात्मनो दुःखादिमत्त्वं भ्रान्तिप्रकल्पितं न वास्तवमित्येव प्रतिपादितम् । नात्मसाक्षात्कारनाशः ।

ततः कथमुक्तं विक्षेपावस्थायां न ब्रह्मसाक्षात्कार इति । यथा अग्नौ सन्निधाने दाहसाक्षात्कारो न भवतीति वक्तुमशक्यं तथाऽऽत्मसन्निधाने साक्षात्कारो न भवतीति वक्तुमशक्यम् । तस्मात्समाध्यवस्थायां विक्षेपावस्थायाञ्चात्मसाक्षात्कारो भवत्येव ।

न च "यत्र त्वस्य सर्वमात्मैवाभूत्" इति श्रुतिः समाध्यवस्थायां ब्रह्मसाक्षात्कारं प्रतिपादयति । "यत्र हि द्वैतमिव भवती"ति श्रुतिः विक्षेपावस्थायां प्रपञ्चदर्शनेन ब्रह्मसाक्षात्काराभावं प्रतिपादयतीति वाच्यम् । इमे श्रुती ज्ञानाऽज्ञानावस्थयोः प्रपञ्चस्य कल्पितत्वा-

---

latter. In that case, to maintain that the direct perception of *Brahman* occurs in the state of meditation and not in the state of distraction is puerile. For knowledge is objective. The object here is the non-dual *Brahman*. It is eternal, all-pervasive and one's own self; how can it, therefore, be unperceived in the state of distraction. (Even) in the state of ignorance, the perception of the Self persists, in the form of 'I am' unhappy. What is established is merely this : in the state of knowledge the unhappiness etc. in respect of the same Self is imagined through delusion, not in reality; not destruction of the perception of the Self.

How, then, it is stated that in the state of distraction, there is no perception of the Self. As it is impossible to maintain that there is no sensation of burning, when the fire is very near, similarly it cannot be said that there is no perception of the Self when the Self is ever-present. Therefore, in the state of *samādhi* as well as in the state of distraction, the perception of the Self definitely continues.

It cannot, moreover, be urged that the scriptural assertion : "Where, indeed, for him everything has become the Self," propounds the perception of *Brahman* in the state of trance and the scriptural statement : "Where, indeed, as if, there is duality" speaks of the absence of the perception of *Brahman*, (consequent) on the perception of the world. For these two scriptural statements propound the nature of the world as illusory appearance and as really present in the states of knowledge and ignorance respectively, but not the merger and emergence of the world in the states of meditation and distraction respectively. Otherwise the statements of simultaneous perception of *Brahman* and the world in the scripture : "Seeing this, indeed, the seer Vāmadeva knew, 'I was Manu and the Sun too'", (Bṛ. Up. I. 4.10) and in the *smṛti*, 'I do nothing at all' (Bh. G. V. 8) will be contradicted.

कल्पितत्वबोधौ प्रतिपादयतो न समाधिविक्षेपावस्थयोः प्रपञ्चस्य लयप्रादुर्भावौ। अन्यथा "तद्धैतत्पश्यन् ऋषिर्वामदेवः प्रतिपेदे[१०५]" इति श्रुत्या, "नैव किञ्चित्करोमी"ति स्मृत्या च ब्रह्मप्रपञ्चयोर्युगपत्प्रत्यक्षमुक्तं व्याहतं स्यात्।

न चात्र भिन्नकालेन दर्शनमुक्तं न युगपदिति वाच्यम्। तथा सति 'शन्' प्रत्ययग्रहणं न स्यात्। 'शन्'प्रत्ययस्य युगपत् क्रियाद्वयबोधकत्वनियमात्। यदि पर्यायेण क्रियाद्वयमुक्तं स्यात्तदा 'क्त्वा'प्रत्ययेन निर्देशः स्यात्, भुक्त्वा व्रजतीतिवत्। तस्माद्विद्वान् बाधितानुवृत्त्या सुखदु:खादिप्रपञ्चमनुभवन्नपि नानुभवन्नेव भवतीति।

ज्ञानोत्तरं ध्यानादिकं तु जीवन्मुक्तसुखानुभवार्थं, नान्यत्कर्तव्यार्थमिति। तथा चोक्तं मधुसूदन सरस्वतिना—

"तत्त्वज्ञानं मनोनाशो वासनाक्षय एव च।
युगपत् त्रितयाभ्यासाज्जीवन्मुक्तिर्दृढा भवेत्[१०६]॥ इति

It cannot be urged that here the perception (of the world and *Brahman*) at different times is stated but not simultaneous perception. For in that case the suffix *śan* could not be used. The suffix *śan*, as a rule, denotes simultaneity of two actions. Had there been the intention of indicating two actions alternatively then the suffix *ktvā* should have been used, as 'he departs after eating (*bhuktvā*)'. The wise person, therefore, does not, verily, experience the world characterised by happiness and unhappiness, though experiencing it through continuity of the sublated.

Meditation and the like, after knowledge, is aimed at experiencing the ecstasy born of liberation while alive and not for performing any obligatory duty. In this regard Madhusūdana Sarasvati has said :—

"Knowledge of reality, destruction of mind and elimination of latent tendencies, all these three practised simultaneously tend to confirm the state of liberation while alive". (Bh. G. Gū. Dī. p. 5).

The statement of *Vivaraṇakāra* (i.e. Prakāśātma Muni) : "We do not speak of simultaneity" refers to the two psychic modes of the form of the perception of the Brahmaa and the world, but not to the states of mediation and distraction. For two psychnic modes about different objects cannot arise simultaneously.

---

[१०५] बृहदारण्यक उपनिषद्, १.४.१०

[१०६] श्रीमद् भगवद्गीता, "गूढार्थदीपिका" टीका, चौखम्भासंस्कृत संस्थान, वाराणसी, वि. सं. २०३९, पृष्ठ ५

यत्तु विवरणकारेणोक्तं 'न वयं साहित्यं ब्रु(ब्रू)मः[१०७]' इति तदपि ब्रह्मप्रपञ्चयोः साक्षात्काररूपवृत्तिद्वयाभिप्रायं, न तु समाधिविक्षेपाभिप्रायम्। युगपद्भिन्नविषयकवृत्तिद्वयानुदयात्।

न च तत्रैव 'कदाचिदसंप्रज्ञातात्मैकत्वम्'[१०८] इत्युक्त्या असम्प्रज्ञातसमाधिरुक्ते(क्त इ)ति वाच्यम्। तत्त्वदीपनकारेणासम्प्रज्ञातत्वमिति प्रत्यक्षादिप्रमाणगोचरात्मसाक्षात्कारत्वमिति व्याख्यातत्वात्। अन्यथा श्रुतिस्मृतिविरोधप्रसङ्गात्।

तस्माल्लोकदृष्टया विहितकर्म्मानुसारेण जनकादिवत्, निषिद्धकर्म्मानुसारेण दत्तात्रेयादिवत्, यथाकथञ्चित्प्रारब्धानुसारेण वर्त्तमानोऽपि ब्रह्मसाक्षात्कारवानेव भवतीति। "जक्षन् क्रि(क्री)डन् रममाणः स्त्रिभिर्वा यानैर्वा ज्ञातिभिर्वा"[१०९] इति श्रुतेः। नन्वियं श्रुतिः भाष्यकारैः

It cannot be said that since in the same work (namely *Pancapādikā-vivarana*, p. 786) it is stated : "Sometimes the identity of the Self with the *asamprajñāta*-state has been maintained", it is the *samādhi* called *asamprajñāta*, (in which the distinction between the mind and the object of meditation is completely obliterated) that is stated. For the commentary "*tattvadipana*" explains it as the perception of the Self that is amenable to the valid means of knowledge like *pratyakṣa* and others. Otherwise there will arise the contingency of contradicting the scripture and the *smṛti*.

Therefore, from the view-point of the laity, the wise one may be seen to conduct himself, like Janaka, in accord with obligatory actions or, like Dattātreya, may be seen to conduct himself according to the prohibited actions, or demeaning in whatever manner, he, indeed, is a realised soul who has directly perceived the Brahman. For the scripture declares : "(the wise one moves about) laughing, playing, rejoicing with women, chariots or relatives", (Chā. Up. VIII. 12.3). But this scriptural statement is explained by the commentator (Śankara) as : "Laughing through the body of Indra and the like, playing and rejoicing in the *brahmaloka*, through the body of Hiraṇyagarbha (i.e. Brahmā) and others", (Chā. Up. Śaṅ. Bhā. p. 926). This, we rejoin, is not contrary to our position. For it corroborates our cherished position. This explanation, indeed, corroborates the non-dual stand-point. If Hiraṇyagarbha, Indra and others were different from the realised soul, the arrogation of other's enjoyment by some one else cannot stand to reason. Therefore, after knowledge the

---

[१०७] प्रकाशात्ममुनि विरचितम्, पञ्चपादिकाविवरणम्, नवमे वर्णके, सम्पा. एस. श्रीराम शास्त्री, एवं एस. आर. कृष्णमूर्ति शास्त्री, गवर्मेन्ट ओरिएन्टल मैन्युस्क्रीप्टस लायब्रेरी, मद्रास, १९५८, पृष्ठ ७८६.

[१०८] तत्रैव, पृष्ठ ७८६.

[१०९] छान्दोग्य उपनिषद्, ८.१२.३.

'इन्द्रादिदेहेन जक्षत्, हिरण्यगर्भादिदेहेन ब्रह्मलोके क्रीडन् रममाण'[११] इति व्याख्यातेति चेन्न। इष्टापत्तेः। इदमेव व्याख्यानमद्वैतं दृढयति। यदि हिरण्यगर्भेन्द्रादयो विदुषो भिन्नाः स्युस्तदाऽन्यस्य भोगेनान्यस्याभिमानो न स्यात्। ततो ज्ञानोत्तरं स्वस्मिन् हिरण्यगर्भादिप्रपञ्चः कल्पित इत्येवमाकारो जायत इति। यस्य तु तादृगभिमानो न भवति तस्य तु नास्त्येव ब्रह्मसाक्षात्कार इति श्रुत्या गूढाभिसन्ध्योद्घाटितम्।

तादृशोऽभिमानोऽपि विदुषो न वास्तवोऽध्यस्ताभिप्राय इति द्रष्टव्यम्। अत्र कश्चिदद्वैतमतगहनसम्प्रदायानभिज्ञो मायोपाधिरीश्वर, अविद्योपाधिर्जीव इत्यौपाधिकोऽपि भेदो ज्ञानोत्तरमपि यावद्विदेहकैवल्यं न जायते तावन्न निवर्त्तेत इति वदति, तदप्यनयैव श्रुत्या निरस्तम्।

यदि ज्ञानोत्तरमपि जीवेश्वरादिभेदो न निवर्त्तते तर्हि हिरण्यगर्भेन्द्रादिदेहेन तत्तद्भोगाभिमानः श्रुत्युक्तो व्याहतः स्यात्। न हि जीवस्य हिरण्यगर्भेन्द्राद्यभिमानः संभवति। अविद्याधीनत्वाज्जीवेश्वरविभागस्य। ब्रह्मसाक्षात्कारेणाविद्यायाः नाशितत्वात्। ननु मायाऽविद्ययोर्भेदान्न भेदनिवृत्तिः। तथा हि, कर्तुरिच्छाऽ(म)नुवर्त्तते, स्वाश्रयमव्यामोहयति माया। अविद्या तु तद्विपरीता। यथा मायाविना प्रसारिता माया तदधीना, तदव्यामोहकरी

---

form of understanding comes to be like : "The world consisting of Hiraṇyagarbha and others appears in me illusorily". The person who does not possess such cosmic perception, does not have the perception of the Brahman. This truth is revealed by the scripture cryptically.

Even that sort of conceit in the wise is not real, but due to superimposition. In this context, some one not acquainted with the deeper truths of the *Advaita*-philosophy speaks of the non-elimination, even after knowledge, of the difference of God, having the adjunct of *māya* and the individual soul having the adjunct of *avidyā,* though caused by adjuncts, till one attains liberation on the fall of the body. This (false) statement too, may be seen as nullified by the cited scripture.

If, even after knowledge, the difference of the individual soul, God and others is not eliminated, the conceit about the enjoyment through the bodies of Hiraṇyagarbha and the like stated in the scripture, will be contradicted. Because an individual soul cannot have the conceit of Hiraṇyagarbha, Indra and others. For the distinction between an individual soul and God is rooted in ignorance, which is destroyed by the perception of the Brahman. But there cannot be the elimination of difference, as *mayā* and *avidyā* are two distinct entities. To explain, *māyā* is that power which follows the will of the controller and does not delude its substrate. ***Avaidyā*** is just its opposite. As the illusion created by a juggler is always in his control and does not delude him. Not so *avidyā.* In

---

११० छान्दोग्योपनिषद्, (सानुवादशांकरभाष्यसहित), गीताप्रेस, गोरखपुर, संवत्, २०११, पृष्ठ १२६.

च भवति, न तथा अविद्या। शुक्तिरजतस्थले द्रष्टुरेव व्यामोहो जायते, अनिच्छाऽनुवर्त्तिनी च। ततो जीवोपाधिभूताविद्यायां नष्टायामपि ईश्वरोपाधिभूतमायानिवृत्त्ययोगात्, ज्ञानोत्तरमपि जीवेश्वरविभागः स्थास्यत्येवेति चेन्न। मायाऽविद्ययोर्न लक्षणभेदः, अनिर्वचनीयत्त्वस्योभयत्र तुल्यत्वात्। ततो न जीवेश्वरयोरुपाधिभेदः।

न च माया कर्त्तुरिच्छा(म)नुवर्त्तते, अव्यामोहकरी च, न तथा अविद्येति वाच्यम्। किं नाम मायात्वं यस्याः कर्त्तुरिच्छानुवर्त्तित्वं वदसि। माया (यां) विना दर्शितं वस्तु इति चेत्। तस्यापि कार्यत्वात्कारणमवश्यमपेक्षितम्। तच्चेत्कारणं सत्यं स्यात्तत्कार्यस्यापि सत्यत्वप्रसङ्गान्माय(या)त्वमेव निवर्त्तेत। ततो मायायाः कारणमनिर्वचनीयमज्ञानमेवागतम्।

न चाज्ञानकार्यत्वे कर्तुरिच्छावर्त्तित्वावर्त्तित्वादिकभेदः कथमिति वाच्यम्। निमित्तकारणभेदात्। शुक्तिरजतस्थले निमित्तकारणं दोषादिस्तस्य पुरुषेच्छावर्त्तित्वाभावात्। न रजतस्यापि कर्तुरिच्छावर्त्तित्वम्। मायास्थले निमित्तकारणं मन्त्रौषधादिस्तस्य कर्तुरिच्छानुवर्त्तित्वात्, मायाया अपि कर्तुरिच्छानुवर्त्तित्वम्।

---

the case of the perception of silver in the place of nacre, the percipient himself is deluded and it (delusion) does not follow his will. Therefore, though when the *avidyā*, the adjunct of the individual soul is destroyed, because *māyā*, the adjunct of God is not destroyed, even after knowledge, the distinction of the individual soul and God will, indeed, obtain. We rejon, no. There is no difference in the definition of *māyā* and *avidyā*, because the element of indescribability is present in both the cases. Therefore, there is no difference in adjuncts of the individual soul and God.

Moreover, it cannot be said that *māyā* follows the will of its controller whom it does not delude, not so *avidyā*. What is, in the first place, the nature of *māyā*, which, according to you, follows the will of its controller ? If you reply it is a thing shown as uncaused. For in respect of that thing too, as it is an effect, cause must be sought. If the cause be real, there will arise the contingency of its effect being also real; thereby the nature of delusion itself will be negated. Therefore, the indefinable ignorance alone comes to be established as the cause of *māyā*.

It cannot be urged that when both *māyā* and *avidyā*] are the effects of ignorance, how can there arise the difference of following and not following the will (of the agent). Because (that difference arises out) of the difference of the instrumental cause. In the case of nacre and silver, the instrumental cause is the defect which does not depend on the desire of the person concerned. Nor the (appearance of) silver depend on the desire of the percipient. In case of *māyā*, the instrumental cause is *mantra* or incantation, herb etc. which are dependent upon the desire of the agent, therefore *māyā* too is dependent upon the desire of its employer.

न च ज्ञानोत्तरं निवर्त्तते अविद्या, न मायेति वाच्यम् । अविद्यास्थलेऽपि तुल्यत्वात् । नेत्राङ्गुलिसंयोगे विद्यमाने द्विचन्द्रज्ञानाभावेऽपि द्विचन्द्रप्रत्यक्षदर्शनात् । तस्मादज्ञानस्यैवावरणशक्तिरविद्या, विक्षेपशक्तिर्मायेति । ततो ब्रह्मसाक्षात्कारेणावरणस्य निवृत्त्या, यावद्विक्षेपो न निवृत्तस्तावत्स्वस्मिन्परमात्मनि प्रपञ्चं पश्यन्नेव भवति । प्रारब्धनाशे तु विक्षेपमात्रं निवर्त्तते, न किञ्चिदधिकं जायते । जीवेश्वरभावस्य ब्रह्मसाक्षात्कारेणैव नाशितत्वादिति । तस्माद् ब्रह्मसाक्षात्कारेण न देहान्तरग्रहणं स्वस्मिन्परमात्मत्वस्य निश्चयात् ।

"सर्वथा वर्त्तमानोऽपि न स भूयोऽभिजायते[१११]"

इति स्मृतेः ।

नन्वत्र भगवता प्रकृतिपुरुषपरमेश्वराणां विवेकेन ज्ञानादपुनरावृत्तिलक्षणा मुक्तिरुक्ता न तु जीव एव परमात्मेति । तथा हि,

"कार्यकरणकर्तृत्वे हेतुः प्रकृतिरुच्यते[११२]" ।

इति जगत्कर्त्री प्रकृतिरुक्ता ।

"पुरुषः सुखदुःखानां भोक्तृत्वे हेतुरुच्यते[११३]" ।

Nor can it be urged that after the dawning of knowledge, *avidyā* is removed, not *māyā*. For, in case of *avidyā* also (the continuity of effect) is similar. (For instance) when the contact of the eye and (the pressing) finger is continued, though there is no knowledge of two moons, two moons are directly perceived. Therefore (it is established that) the concealing power of ignorance is *avidyā* and its distracting power is *māyā*. Therefore, (even) on the elimination of concealment by the perception of *Brahman*, till the distraction is not eliminated, one does continue to perceive the world in one's own Supreme Self. On the destruction of the operative action, merely the distraction is eliminated; nothing more happens. The (distinction of the) status of an individual soul and God is already destroyed by the perception of *Brahman*. Because on the perception of Brahman, one is confirmed in (the truth of) one's own being the Supreme Self (God), there is no occasion for fresh embodiment. The *smṛti* states in this regard :—

" Though he acts in every way, he is not born again ", (Bh. G. XIII. 23).

But in this context, the Lord has said about liberation through the discernment of Nature, consciousness and the Lord and not that the individual soul himself is the Supreme Person. To explain, by the (following) hemistich, Nature, the matrix of the world is stated :—

" Nature is said to be the cause of effect, instrument and agent's status ", (Bh. G. XIII. 20).

---

[१११] श्रीमद्भगवद्गीता, १३.२३.   [११२] तत्रैव, १३, २०.

इति सार्द्धश्लोकेन जीवात्मोक्तः ।

"उपद्रष्टाऽनुमन्ता च भर्त्ता भोक्ता महेश्वरः ।
परमात्मेति चाप्युक्तो देहेऽस्मिन्पुरुषः परः[११३]" ॥

इति परमात्मोक्तः । अतः प्रकृतेः कर्तृत्वेन, जीवस्य प्रकृतिसंयोगाद्भोक्तृत्वेन सदसद्योनिजन्मप्राप्त(प्ति)त्वेन, परमात्मन उपद्रष्टृत्वेन च यो वेत्ति स जीवः शरीरे वर्त्तमानोऽपि मुक्त एव भवति, पुनर्देहान्तरमपि न प्राप्नोतीत्येवं भगवतोक्तं, न जीव एव परमात्मेति चेन्न । अत्रैवोपक्रमोपसंहाराभ्यां परमात्मैव भवति, जीवत्वं तु अज्ञानान्मन्यत इति प्रतिपादितम् । तथा हि, उपक्रमे—

"प्रकृतिं पुरुषञ्चैव विद्ध्यनादी उभावपि[११४]" ।

इति प्रकृतिपुरुषयोरेव प्रतिज्ञा कृता न परमात्मनः । तत्र यदि परमात्मानं जीवाद्भिन्नत्वेन भगवानुच्येत तदा 'विद्ध्यनादी उभावपि' इति द्विवचनं व्याहन्येत । न च प्रतिज्ञा

And by the (following) hemistich the individual soul is stated :—

" And the soul is said to be the cause in regard to the experience of pleasure and pain ", (Bh. G. XIII. 20).

And the Supreme Person (God) is said in the verse :—

" The Supreme Spirit in the body is said to be the Witness, the Permitter, the Supporter, the Experiencer, the Great Lord and Supreme Self ", (Bh. G. XIII. 22).

Therefore what the Lord means to say is this : The individual soul who knows that it is *prakṛti* that acts, that it is the soul who enjoys due to his contact with *prakṛti* and consequently attains births in good or evil wombs and that it is the Lord who is the Witness, is, indeed, liberated even while remaining in the body and does not assume another body and not that the individual soul himself is the Supreme Person. To this, we rejoin, no. In the present context, indeed, by introduction and conclusion it is established that it is the Supreme Person alone, but throug ignorance believes himself to be an individual soul. To explain, in the introduction (of the topic) the proposition is about *prakṛti* or Nature and *puruṣa* or Soul, but not about the Supreme Self :—

" Know thou that *prakṛti* (Nature) and *puruṣa* (Soul) are both beginningless ", (Bh. G. XIII. 19).

Had the Lord desired to speak of the Supreme Self as different from the Soul, then the dual used in " Know thou both of them as beginningless " would be inconsistent. Nor can it be urged that though the proposition is regarding

---

[११३] तत्रैव, १३.२२.

[११४] तत्रैव, १३.१९.

प्रकृतिपुरुषयोरेव यद्यपि कृता तथापि तयोः प्रेरकत्वेन मध्ये परमात्माऽप्युक्त इति वाच्यम् । तथा सति उपसंहारे—

"य एवं वेत्ति पुरुषं प्रकृतिं च[११५]"

इति प्रकृतिपुरुषयोरेव ग्रहणं न स्यात्, मध्ये भिन्नत्वेन परत्मनोऽप्युक्तत्वात् । न चोपसंहारे पुरुषशब्देन जीवेश्वरावुभावप्युक्ताविति वाच्यम् । एवं सति—

"य एवं वेत्ति पुरुषौ प्रकृतिं च"

इति पाठः स्यात् । तस्मादस्याः स्मृतेरयमाशयः । प्रकृतिर्माया न सांख्योक्तं स्वतन्त्रं प्रधानम् । यदि सांख्योक्तं प्रधानं जगदुपादानं स्यात्तदा—

"वासुदेवः सर्वम्[११६]" इति,

"मत्तः सर्वं प्रवर्त्तते[११७]" इति परमात्मोपादानप्रतिपादकस्मृतिविरोधः स्यात् । तस्मान्मायैव प्रकृतिः । परमात्मैव मायातादात्म्यापन्नो जीवः, मायाविनिर्मुक्तः परमात्मैवेत्युक्तम् ।

---

the Nature and the Soul only, but inbetween them, the Supreme Person too has been stated as their impeller. For in that case, in the conclusion, there would not be the mention of the *prakṛti* (Nature) and *puruṣa* (Soul) only, for inbetween the Lord too is said as different :—

" He who knows thus the *puruṣa* and *prakṛti* ", (Bh. G. XIII. 23).

Nor can it be urged that in the conclusion, by the term *puruṣa* (Soul) both the individual Soul and the Lord are said. For in that case, the reading would be :—

" He who knows thus the two *puruṣas* and the *prakṛiti* ". This is, therefore, the intent of the *smṛti* :—*Prakṛti* (Nature) is *māyā* and not the independent *pradhāna* propounded in the *Sāṁkhya*-system. If the *pradhāna* postulated in the *Sāṁkhya* were the material cause of the world, the *smṛti*, establishing the Supreme Self as the material cause of world, would be contradicted :—

" Vāsudeva (the Supreme) is all ", (Bh. G. VII. 19).

" From Me all (the whole creation) proceeds ",

(Bh. G. X. 8).

Prakṛti, therefore, is *māyā*. The individual soul is the Supreme Self identified with *māyā*; freed from māyā, he is, indeed, the Supreme Self.

---

[११५] तत्रैव, १३.२३.

[११६] तत्रैव, ७.१९.

[११७] तत्रैव, १०.८.

" पुरुषः प्रकृतिस्थो हि भुङ्क्ते प्रकृतिजान्गुणान्[११८] "

इति स्मृत्या 'प्रकृतिस्थ' इति शब्देन मायातादात्म्यापन्नो जीव इत्युक्तम् । 'उपद्रष्टाऽनुमन्ता च' इति श्लोके 'देहेऽस्मिन्पुरुषः पर' इत्यत्र 'प्रकृतेः' इति पदमध्याहर्त्तव्यम् । ततश्चायमर्थः :—'यदाऽयमेव पुरुषः प्रकृतेः परः तदा अस्मिन्नेव देहे वर्त्तमानोऽपि परमात्मैवोक्त इति वदता भगवतोक्तं, लोकदृष्टया देहे वर्त्तमानोऽपि मायातादात्म्याभिमानाभावे परमात्मैव भवतीति । अतो ब्रह्मसाक्षात्कारोत्तरं 'यस्यानुवित्त प्रतिबुद्ध आत्मा[११९] " इति श्रुत्या विदुषो जगत्कर्तृत्वं सुष्ठूक्तम् । तस्माद्विदुषो न किञ्चित्कर्तव्यं परमात्मस्वरूपत्वात् । अतो महावाक्येनापि सुष्ठूक्तं त्वं परमात्मासीति ।

महसि तेजसि ते त(प)रमे हृदि
तरणिकोटिसमे हि समेयुषि ।
अलघुधर्मतया मतया जनैः
किमसुरेशतया शतयागतः ॥ १ ॥

The *smṛti* :—

" The Soul abiding in Nature enjoys the modes born of Nature ", (Bh. G. XIII. 21).

By the phrase ' abiding in Nature ', it seeks to state that he who is identified with *māyā* is the individual soul. In the (aforesaid) verse :—" (He is) the Witness, the Permitter, the Supporter, and the Supreme Self in this body ", the term Supreme means beyond the *prakṛti* (the word *prakṛti* should be added). The meaning, then, would be : " When this very person transcends *prakṛti*, then, though abiding in this body, he is called the ' Supreme Person '. By this the Lord intends to say that though from the view-point of common people, he appears as abiding in the body, because he is free from the conceit born of identification with *māyā*, he, verily, is the Supreme Self. Therefore the scripture rightly states that after the perception of *Brahman* " Whoever has found and has awakened to the Self ", (Bṛ. Up. IV. 4.13). to him should be ascribed the creatorship of the world. For the wise, therefore, there is no obligation, as he is one with the (nature of the) Supreme Self. Therefore, the great dictum too rightly says : " thou art the Supreme Self ".

When one seeks to attain identification with your Supreme effulgent light like that of millions of Suns in (one's own) heart, what value has the lordship of gods, (attainable) through (the performance of a) hundred sacrifices, considered by people as of very great religious merit ?

---

[११८] तत्रैव, १३.२१

[११९] बृहदारण्यकोपनिषद्, ४.४.१३.

देवाधिपोऽपि मघवा नगजापदोत्थं
रेणु(णुं) दधार शिरसातिरसालकेलिः ।
यस्याः कटाक्षपतितः पतितो न भूयः
तस्यै नमोऽसुरगणानगणांश्च हन्त्र्यै ॥ २ ॥

इति श्री जयरामजी नागरज्ञाती(येन) विरचितो 'महावाक्यादर्शः' समाप्तः । शी(शि)वमस्तु सकलजगताम् । संवत् १७३३ वर्षे फाल्गुण(न) शुक्ल १४ ॥

Indra, though the Lord of gods, and enjoying extremely delightful sports, bears a particle (of dust) from the foot of Umā, the daughter of mountain (*himālaya*). To Her be my obeisance, on receiving whose gracious side-glance one does not fall again (in the cycle of births and deaths) and who destroys the herds of demons and those who are not devoted to her.

Thus *Mahāvakyādarśa*, composed by Śri Jayarāma of the nāgara caste, is completed. May all the worlds be blessed. The fourteenth day of the bright fortnight of the month of *fālgun* in the *saṁvat* year one thousand seven hundred thirty three, (that is, Thursday, eighth March, sixteen hundred seventy seven A.D.).

INDEX

(The Roman numerals refer to the pages in the introduction and the English figures refer to the pages of the text)

A

Ācārya, preceptor 45, 46

Adhiṣṭhāna, substrate, 23, 33, 35, 40

Adhyāsa, superimposition 20

Advaita, the non-dual Self, the principal system of Vedānta philosophy 13, 14, XIX, 34, 35, 38, 39, 52, 58

Āgama, Scripture, Śastra, traditional knowledge, 3

Ajñāna, nescience equated with suṣupti 13, 14, 15, 19, 20, 22, 23, 24, 25, 27, 32, 33, 36, 40, 41, 42, 44, 45

Akṣara, the immutable principle, the Soul 11

Anirvācya, indescribable 59

Antaryāmī. God, the inner controller 9, 10, 24, 25, 27

Anumāna, inference, a valid means of knowledge 3

Anyonyāśarya, mutual dependence, a dialectical defect 3

Aparokṣasākṣātkāra, Direct immediate intuition or perception, 22, 42

Apparatus-criticus, XXIV

Ātmā, the Self, 4, 7, 9, 22, 30, 31, 39, 43, 63

Avacchedavāda XI

Avasthātraya, the three states of consciousness, viz., waking, dream and sound sleep 7, 19, 29, 30, 35, 41

Avyakta, the unmanifest Prakṛti IX, 17, 18

B

Bādhitānuvṛtti, the continuation of the sublated XVII, 52, 53

Being, the primeval ground of the world 6, 7, 14

Bhāgavata (mata), Vaiṣnavism a school of theology 1

Bhāmatīprasthāna XI

Bhāṣyakāra, Śri Śaṅkarācārya 1, 32, 39

Brahmaloka, 57, 58

Braman, The Absolute, often identified with the Self IV, V, VII, 7, 9, 11, 12, 13, XVIII, 27, 38, 39, 48, 53

Brahmasūtra, aphorisms systematizing the philosophy of the Upaniṣads ascribed to Bādarāyaṇa 1, IV, XI, XIV

Brahmavidyā 38

C

Capra, Fritjof XX, XXI

Cartesian XX

Cassirer, Ernst XXII, XXV

Cognition, sense-perception 4

Cunningham II

D

Descartes XX

Dhyāna, meditation XVII, 52, 53, 54, 56

Dvaita, duality, a doctrine of Vedānta 52, 55

E

Eckhart X, XV

Efficient cause 1

Eliade, Mircea XXV

Existentialist XXV

G

Gītā XI, 50, 57, 62, 63

J

James, William XVI, XXII
Janaka 29, 45
Jīva, the individual soul 13, 16, 24, 28, 29, 32, 33, 54, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63
Jīvanamukta, a person liberated while alive XVII, 45, 52, 56

K

Kant, Immanuel, XII, XXI, XXII, XXV
Kāraṇaśarīra, the causal body 13, 18
Karmakāṇḍa, action-oriented Vedic-injunctions XVI, 41
Kāyasthas II
Kṣara, the mutable principle, in constant flux 11

L

Lakṣaṇā, secondary meaning which is of three types :
(a) jahallakṣaṇa
(b) ajahallakṣaṇā
(c) jahadajahallakṣṇā or bhāgatyāgalakṣaṇā XV, 39, 40
Liṅgaśarīra, the subtle body 12, 13, 36, 38

M

Madhusūdana Sarasvatı 56
Mahat, the principle of cosmic intellect, the Logos 17, 18
Mahāvākya, the great dictum XXII, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 63
Material cause 1, 20, 21, 23, 45
Māyā, the power of God or the Self responsible for the projection of the world XIX, 18, 19, 58, 59, 60, 62, 63
Metaphor of chariot IX, 18
Mithyā, relatively real VIII, XIV, 16, 34

N

Nāgaras I, II, III
Nāgarakhaṇḍa, a section of the *Skanda-purāṇa* III
Naiyāyika 47
Nescience, the principle responsible for the concealment of the Supreme Self 2, 13, 14, 15, 16, 18, 19, 20, 23, 24, 25, 32
Nityakarma, obligatory action 48

O

Omniscience 28

P

Pañcadaśī, of Vidyāraṇya Muni 28, 37
Parā gatiḥ, the supreme goal 17
Pāśupatamata, a school of Śaivism 1
Perception, a valid means of knowledge 3, 5, 19, 20, 22, 26, 36, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 52, 55, 58, 59
Pradhāna, the prakṛti of Sāṅkhyaśāstra 17, 18, XIX, 62
Prajāpati, the common projenitor of gods and demons V, VII, 7, 8, 11, 12
Prājña, the subject in the deep sleep state 36
Prakaraṇa, a treatise enunciating a tenet of a philosophical system, IV
Pramāṇa, valid means of knowledge, a major concept in Indian epistemology 4, 20, 23, 53, 57
Prapañca, the world, so called because of qnintuplication theory 1, 2, 13, 15, 16, 20, 23, 33, 34, 35, 36, 38, 39, 41, 52, 53, 55, 56, 58, 60
Prārabdha, the action that has begun yielding results XVII, XIX, 44, 45, 47, 57, 60
Pratibimbavāda, the theory that the finite soul is the reflection of the Supreme Self XI
Pravarādhyāya II

R

Rajjusarpa, the stock example used by the advaitins for the incidence of delusion 3

Realization of *Brahman* 46, 48

Ṛgveda, the manual for the hotṛ priest IV, IX, XIX

S

Ṣadbhāvavikāras, six modifications of the substance, viz., generation, existence, growth, change, deterioration and destruction 43

Sākṣibhāsya, known through the witness 23

Sākṣicaitanya, the witnessing consciousness 1, V, 20, 36, 41, 42

Śālagrama, XVIII, 53

Samādhi, Self-absorption, the consummation of yoga XIV, 39, 55, 56, 57

Saṁcita, collected pre-natal actions, in the form of impressions, stored in the unconscious XVII, 47

Śaṅkarācārya 1

Sāṅkhya, the ancient system of metaphysics believing in multiplicity of conscious spirits and inert prakṛti 1, 17, XIX, 62

Sat, the Being as the presupposition of both the subjective and objective aspects of existence 4, 6, X, 15

Self, the finite individual self when conditioned and called the Supreme Self when freed from conditioning 1, IV, VI, VII, IX, XII, 25, 30, 31, 35, 36, 39, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 53, 55, 63

Self-realization 44

Smṛti, the ancient text on law and sociology based on the Śruti XVII, 18, 21, 46, 51, 52, 56

Śruti, the Veda 3, VI, 6, 14, 18, 23, 46, 47, 48, 49, 51, 55, 56, 57, 63

Stace, W. T. XVI

Substratum, the reality as the ground of the world VI, 14, 23, 35

Supreme Person, the God-head 1, VI, 8, 11, 12, 13, 14, 16, 17, 20, 27, 33, 34, 37, 38, 41, 42, 60, 61, 62

Supreme Self, the transcendental, non-dual principle of subjectivity 6, VII, 7, VIII, IX, XI, 12, XIV, XV, XVI, XX, XXIII, 60, 61, 62, 63

Svayaṁjyotiḥ, self-luminous, the Self as the source of light, itself not in need of any light for its knowledge 3

Śvetaketu, 15, 16

U

Uddālaka 16

Unmanifest, the prakṛti in its undifferentiated form 17, 18

Upādānakāraṇa, material cause, 1, 21, 22, 23, 45, 47, 62

Upādhi, adjunct 22, 28, 36, 59

V

Vācaspati Miśra 35

Vāmadeva, a Vedic seer XIV, XVIII, XXIV, 39, 55, 56

Vārttikakāra, Sureśvarācārya 27, 32, 42, 48, 49

Videhakaivalya, liberation on the fall of the body XIX, 58

Vivaraṇakāra, Prakāśātma Muni 56, 57

Vivaraṇaprasthāna XI

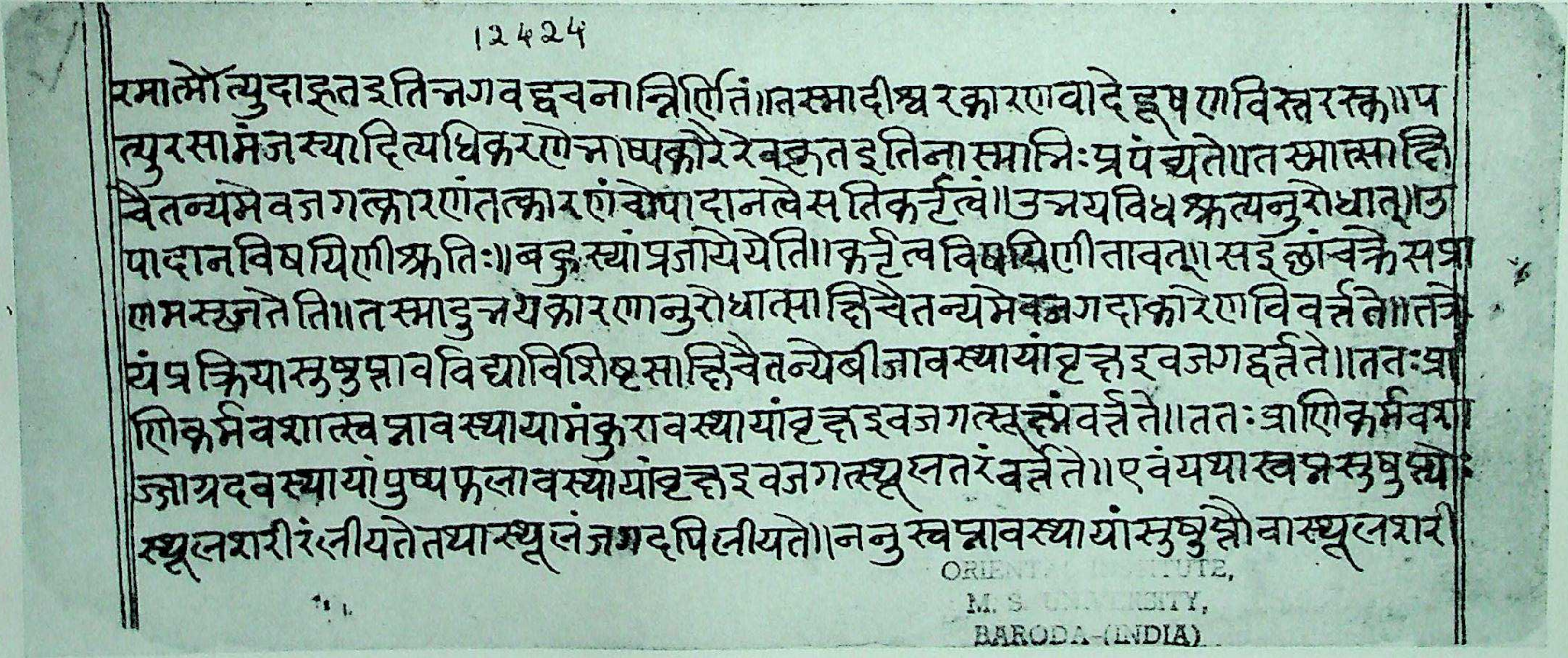
Vivarta, unreal modification X, 23

Viṣṇoḥ paramaṁ padam, the highest step or abode of Viṣṇu, equated with the Self 17

Y

Yājñavalkya XVII, 29, 45, 48

Yoga, an ancient school of philosophy practical in conception, the theoretical infra-structure of which is supplied by the Sāṅkhya-system of thought 1, 17

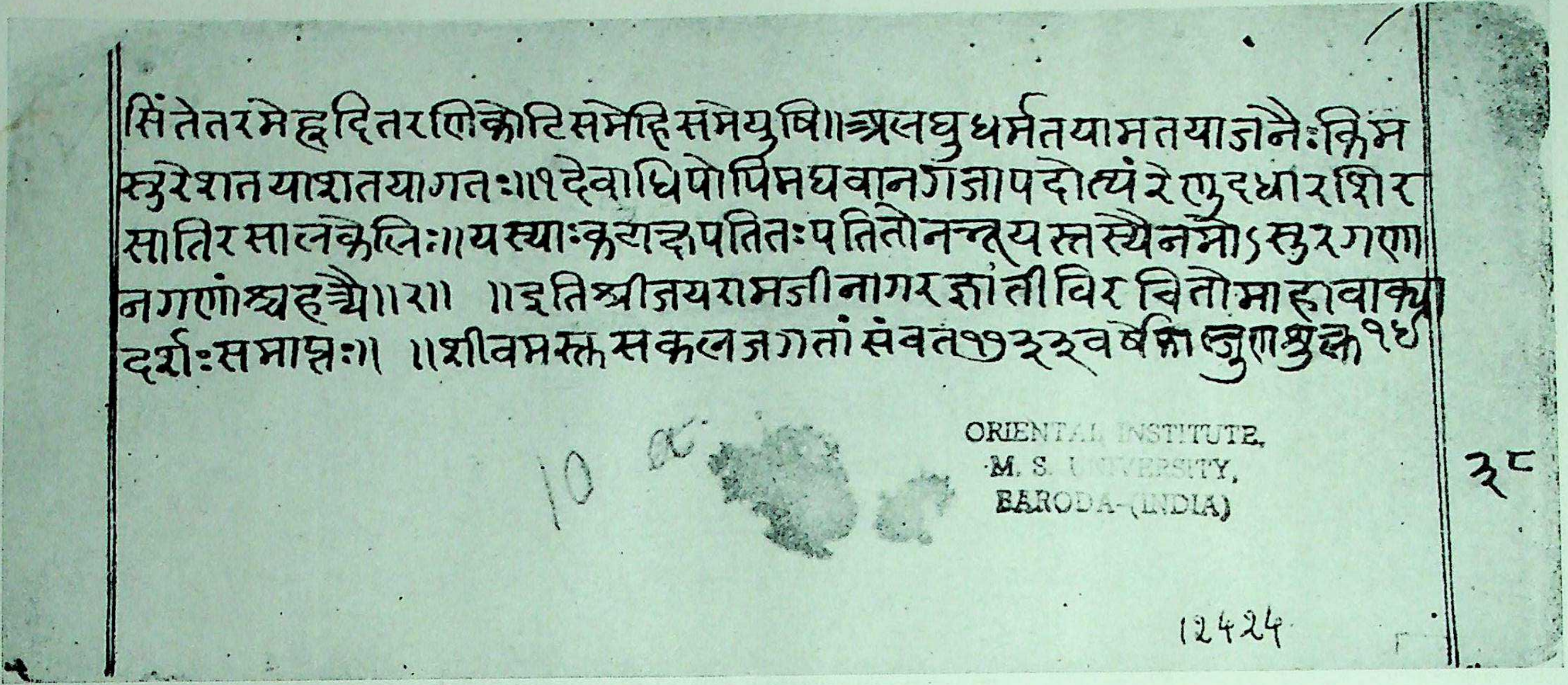


12424

रमात्मेत्युदाहृतइतिभगवद्वचनान्निर्णीतं॥तस्मादीश्वरकारणवादेदूषणंविस्तरस्तु॥प
त्युरसामंजस्यादित्यधिकरणेभाष्यकारैरेवकृतइतिनास्माभिःप्रपंच्यते॥तस्मात्साक्षि
चैतन्यमेवजगत्कारणंतत्कारणंचोपादानत्वेसतिकर्तृत्वं॥उभयविधश्रुत्यनुरोधात्॥उ
पादानविषयिणीश्रुतिः॥बहुस्यांप्रजायेयेति॥कर्तृत्वविषयिणीतावत्॥सइक्षांचक्रेसप्रा
णमसृजतेति॥तस्मादुभयकारणानुरोधात्साक्षिचैतन्यमेवजगदाकारेणविवर्तते॥तत्रै
यंप्रक्रियासुषुप्तावविद्याविशिष्टसाक्षिचैतन्येबीजावस्थायांवृक्षइवजगद्वर्तते॥ततःप्रा
णिकर्मवशात्स्वप्नावस्थायामंकुरावस्थायांवृक्षइवजगत्सूक्ष्मंवर्तते॥ततःप्राणिकर्मवशा
ज्जाग्रदवस्थायांपुष्पफलावस्थायांवृक्षइवजगत्स्थूलतरंवर्तते॥एवंयथास्वप्नसुषुप्त्योः
स्थूलशरीरंलीयतेतथास्थूलंजगदपिलीयते॥ननुस्वप्नावस्थायांसुषुप्तौवास्थूलशरी

ORIENTAL INSTITUTE,
M. S. UNIVERSITY,
BARODA-(INDIA)

Folio 5 a of the MS. of *Mahāvākyādarśa* of Jayarāma Nāgara



सिंतेतरमेह्रदितरणिकोटिसमेहि समेयुषि॥ अलघुधर्मतयामतयाजनैः क्रिम
स्तुरेशातयाशातयागतः॥१॥ देवाधिपोपिमघवानगजापदोत्थं रेणुद्धारशिर
सातिरसालकेलिः॥ यस्याः कृपाद्रुपतितः पतितोनन्त्यस्तस्यैनमोऽस्तुरगणा
नगणांघ्रहृद्यै॥२॥ ॥इति श्रीजयरामजी नागरज्ञाती विरचितो माहावाक्या
दर्शः समाप्तः॥ ॥श्रीवमस्तु सकलजगतां संवत् १७२२ वर्षे फाल्गुणशुक्ल १५

३८

10

ORIENTAL INSTITUTE,
M. S. UNIVERSITY,
BARODA-(INDIA)

12424

Last page of the MS. of *Mahāvākyādarśa* of Jayarāma Nāgara

INTRODUCTION

1. Description of the Manuscript :

The present critical edition of the *Mahāvākyādarśa* of Jayarāma Nāgara is based on a *codex-unicum* deposited in the oriental Institute, Baroda. It bears the accession No. 12424 and has 5 to 38 folios. The manuscript is incomplete with folios 1 to 4 missing. This loss does not much affect the treatment of the subject-matter because it seeks to cover a single topic and consequently the arguments follow a uni-linear course. In all, the manuscript has thirty-five folios.

It is written in Sanskrit language on paper in *devanāgarī* script. Each folio is 23 × 10 cms. in size and generally there are twenty lines to each folio, consisting of two sides.

There are about thirty-six letters to a line. Sometimes there are ninteen, twenty one and even twenty two lines to each folio. It has approximately eight hundred *granthas*. It is uniformly written by one hand. The scribe, though not a good Sanskrit scholar, has tried to enter emendations which do not generally improve the text. On the final folio, after two benedictory stanzas in *drutavilambita* and *upendravajrā*, in the colophon it is written as follows :—

' इति श्रीजयरामजीनागरज्ञाती(येन)विरचितो मा(म)हावाक्यादर्शः समाप्तः ।। शी(शि)मस्तु सकलजगतां संवत् १७३३ वर्षे फाल्गुण(न)शुक्ल १४

This shows that the work was originally composed by Jayarāma of the Nāgara Brahmin caste. The fourtinth day of Falgun's bright fortnight in the Vikrama saṁvat year one thousand seven hundred thirty three corresponds to thursday, the Eighth March, Sixteen hundred seventy seven A. D. This seems to be the date of completion of writing the work by the scribe from an earlier manuscript and not the completion of composition of the work by the author, because there are several attempts at emendation in the margins or above the lines in the present manuscript, which clearly indicate that it is not written by the author himself. The contents are written in lucid prose, without dividing them into chapters. There are therefore, no numbers indicating the division of the subject-matter.

2. The Author of the Work :

The colophon of the present manuscript does not contain any further information in respect of the author, execpt that his name is Jayarāma and that he is Nāgara by caste that is a Brahmin of the Nāgara calling. Though there are Nāgaras who are non-Brahmins, the description in the colophon

" *nāgarajñāti* " leaves no doubt about the author being a Brāhmin. Apart from this the colophon does not say anything further about the author.

The *New Catalogus Catalogorum*, Vol. VII, on page 187 records the following entry :

" Jayarāma, a Nāgara Brahmin of Gujarat.

—*Dakṣiṇāmūrtistotra parimitivilāsa*. 9 I m.
3675. (commentary on Dakṣiṇāmūrtistotra ?).

—*Mahāvākyādarśa*. adv. Baroda 12424.
" cf. Jayarāma Dikṣita below ".

On page 188 the same Volume mentions : " Jayarāma Dīkṣita

—*Vedāntasāramahāvākyadarpaṇa*.
Rajapur, 661 (d. Śaka 1800). "

That Jayarāma, the author of " *Mahāvākyādarśa* " was a Brāhmin of Gujarat and of Nāgara calling is corroborated by the above entry. He composed also a commentary on the famous *Dakṣiṇāmūrtistotra* of Śri Śaṅkarācārya, entitled, *Dakṣiṇāmūrtistotraparimitivilāsa*, which according to the *New Catalogus Catalogorum* is deposited in the Indian Museum, now amalgamated to the " Asiatic Society " of Bengal, Calcutta. The suggestion to compare the *Mahāvākyādarśa* with the other entry of Jayarāma Dikṣīta, who composed the *Vedāntasāramahāvākyadarpaṇa*, the manuscript of which is deposited at the Sanskrit Pathaśālā, Rajapur, District Ratnagiri, Maharashtra and bears the date as Śaka 1800, seems to be made because of the semblance of similarity of the titles *Mahāvākyādarśa* and (*Vedāntasāra*) *Mahāvākyadarpaṇa* and of course the similarity of the names of the authors, though not of their surnames.

Since neither the other work of Jayarāma Nāgara nor the similar work by Jayarāma Dikṣita could be obtained, as reportedly they are destroyed, there seem to be no sources to gather further documentary information about the author of *Mahāvākyādarśa*, except that he also had composed a commentary on the *Dakṣiṇāmūrtistotra* of Śaṅkara.

An attempt, however, may be made to construct a probable corpus of information about the author of the present work on the strength of available external and internal evidence. In all probability the Nāgaras as a community emigrated to Gujarat, then known as Ānarta from Northern India, precisely from Ahichhatra, identified by Cunningham with Ramnagar, in the Bareily district, because ten out of the thirteen family names, mentioned in the work called *Pravarādhyaya*, three manuscripts of which were discovered by late Vallabhaji Haridatt Acharya of Rajkot, are common among the Kāyasthas of Bengal (who also emigrated there from Ahichhatra via Kanauj) and the Vadanagarā Nāgaras of Surat. It is also significant in this regard that Prashnora

Nāgaras called themselves Ahichatras. This emigration might have taken place a little earlier than the sixth century as three family names of Nāgaras of Anartpur or Anandpur, the ancient names of Vadnagar, are mentioned in the copper plate grants of the Vallabhi kings who ruled over Kathiawad and North Gujarat between 509 and 766 A.D. Since their old town was probably known as Nagara, they gave the same nomencleture to their new settlement, which was later changed into Vad-nagar or Vṛddhanagara, when some Nāgaras were made to leave their original town and established a new one nearby called Vishnagar. Their prolonged association with nagara and their urbane demeanour might have earned them the distinguishing surname of Nāgara, in addition to their family names.[1]

The Nāgaras were intelligent, able administrators learned in Vedic ritualistic lore and wrote works on Vedic exegesis, Astrology, literature, grammar, kāma-śāstra, yoga, karmakāṇḍa and Vedānta[2].

In a detailed study of the geographic descriptions and social conditions as recorded in the *Nāgarakhaṇḍa*, a section of the *Skandapurāṇa* it has been established that probably the said section might have been written in Vadnagar during the sixteenth or seventeenth century A.D. and that during the seventeenth century the composition of Puraṇic topics and other sort of writing relating to different *śāstras* gathered momentum[3].

On the basis of these observations, an hypothetical surmise may be made that Jayarāma Nāgara, the author of the present work might have flourished in the second half of the sixteenth century in Vadnagar and might have composed *Mahāvākyādarśa* at the close of the sixteenth century or during the first quarter of the seventeenth century. This assumption fairly accords with the date on which the transcription from the original manuscript was completed.

It is certain that Jayarāma Nāgara was an erudite Sanskrit pundit, well versed, especially in Nyāya and Vedānta, endowed with capacity to write scholarly Sanskrit works in lucid prose and to compose poems of fine quality as can be seen from the dialectical acumen with which he has presented an array of arguments in Nyāya-fashion and the alliteration with which he has embellished the two concluding benedictory stanzas. The systematic, logical presentation of the central theme of the Advaita-Vedānta, namely, the identity of the individual soul with the Absolute or *Brahman* in the present work indicates his profound insight into metaphysical problems. He has supported his statements with quotations from the Saṁhitās of the *Ṛgveda* and *Yajurveda*, *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, Śaṅkaras commentaries on them, Sureśvara's *Bṛhadāraṇyakabhāṣyavārttika*, and principal Upaniṣāds, *Brahmasūtra*, *Pañcadaśī*. *Bhagavadgītā*, Madhusūdana's *Gūḍhārthadīpikā* on it and *Skandapurāṇa*.

---

[1] Enthovan, R. E., *Tribes and Castes of Bombay*, Vol. I, published by Government of Bombay, distributed by Alavi Book Depot, Bombay, 1919, pp. 234ff.

[2] Mehta, Thakoreram Kapilram, Ed. *Vadnagarā Nāgaro* : published by K. T. Mehta, Bombay, 1943, p. 13.

[3] Mehta, R. N. "Nāgarakhaṇḍa : Samayāṅkana", *Svādhyāya*, Vol. VII, No. 1, November, 1969 p. 143.

Like a true Vedāntin, his mind is characterised by catholicity with regard to religious beliefs, as evinced by the devotion that he shows towards *nagajā* or Pārvatī at the end of this work. But to him even the attainment of the status of Indra, the chief of gods, through the performance of a hundred (Horse) Sacrifices, is trifle as compared with the attainment of identity with the non-dual Self in the heart, effulgent like millions of Suns, that is the source of all light.

3. Language and Style :

The present work marks the continuity of zeal with which a host of illustrious writes carried forward the mission of disseminating the experiential knowledge of the non-dual Self, initiated by ādi Śaṅkara and sustained by devout writers and commentators like Ānandagiri, Govindānanda, Vācaspati Míshra, Appaya Dīxita, prakāśātma muni, Sarvajñātma muni, Citsukhācārya, Dharmarājādvarīndra, Sadānanda, Prakāśānanda and Nṛsiṁhāśrama muni. It belongs to a specific category called *prakaraṇa* which aims to expound some important tenet relating to a system of thought and which is defined as :—

> *śāstraikadeśasaṁbaddhaṁ śāstrakāryāntare sthitam,*
> *āhuḥ prakaraṇaṁ nāma granthabhedaṁ vipaścitaḥ.*

The language, as expected in such a scientific discourse, is marked by compactness and brevity, avoiding unnecessary expatiation. At times he uses phrases instead of single words, while indicating the relation of mutual causality or its absence. For instance he states :—

> *svapnāvasthāyāmajñātatvaṁ prati idānīmeva jñātatvaṁ heturidānīmeva jñātatvaṁ prati svapnāvasthāyāmajñātatvaṁ heturiti anyonyāśrayatvadoṣaḥ.*

On the other hand, for the sake of brevity, he drops a word or a case-ending necessary for the purpose of clarity. For instance :—

> *vastuviṣayatvêpi na tajjñānaṁ* (*tasya* or *tajjñānasya*) *puruṣecchayotpādyamānatvat.*

or

> *jīvasyaiva nityatvoktaṁ* (*nityatvamuktaṁ*) *Vyāhanyeta.*

or

> *ityadhikaraṇe tayornivṛttyuktatvāt* (*tayornivṛtteruktatvāt*).

These sentences would have been clearer had the bracketted word or case-inflexion been incorporated into them. Since such cases do not represent grammatical or syntactical error and do not involve distortion of the meaning of a statement, they may be regarded as cases of ideosyncracy.

The style of Jayarāma accords with that adopted in similar philosophical works. It's main-stay is that the author anticipates the objections of the opponent with the stock phrases like : *nanu* *iti cet....na* ; and *na ca....vācyam*, etc. and endeavours to answer them. This is regular Nyāya-methodology and involves Nyāya terminology too. It is conducive to eventual formulation of an argument supporting the central thesis of the work as a whole.

4. Summary of Contents :

The aim of the present work is to expound and mirror the essential teaching of the Upaniṣads, namely the identity of the individual soul and *Brahman*, the world-ground, enshrined in the famous axioms such as *tat tvam asi*, " that thou art "[4] and the like, to work out their implications, to critically examine their import and to review them from different perspectives. The theme is supported by critical interpretation of certain episodes of analogous import like that of Prajāpati's instruction to Indra regarding the nature of the self, discussion bearing upon the topic found in the teaching of Yājñavalkya in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* which involves an in-depth analysis of human experience and the discourse of Kṛṣṇa on *puruṣa* and *prakrti* in the *Gītā*.

The identity of individual soul with *Brahman*, boldly and unequivocally affirmed by the sages recorded in the Upaniṣads, is originally and essentially a direct intuitive experience of absolute spiritual unity in which the finite self is transcended completely, The said identity, therefore, is a bare identity without involving the existence of the correlates. It can be described only negatively as *neti neti*, ' not this, not that '. Nevertheless, it is not void. In positive terms, it may be pointed out as " Being that is aware of itself ". As this Being is the ground of both the individual soul and the world that is the subjective and objective aspects of existence and is their constant immutable principle, it is viewed as *sākṣi-caitanya*, witnessing consciousness. The author in the beginning of the present work endeavours to show how from the witnessing consciousness, the worlds consisting of the subject-object correlates of different psychic states arise. Since the witnessing consciousness itself appears as the world, the former is decided, on the strength of the scriptural passage, both as the material cause as well as the efficient cause of the latter. The process of stage-wise evolution of the world is illustrated as follows :—In the state of deep dreamless sleep, that is when the witnessing consciousness is overlaid by *avidya*, ignorance, the world like a tree remains in the state of seed. In the state of dream the world remains, again like a tree in the subtle state of sprout. While in the state of waking the world manifests in its gross or fully developed form like a tree in the state of fruition. Inversely, on the authority of the *Śruti* again, it is maintained that the gross and subtle worlds merge into the Self or the witnessing consciousness qualified by ignorance, during the state of deep sleep. It is further shown that the position that even in the state of deep sleep, the world in its gross form does exist, cannot be logically maintained. Since the earlier represents an altogether different dimension of existence.

---

[4] *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* VI. 8.7; 9.4; 10.3; *passim*. Vāsudevananda Sarasvati in his commentary on, *Dattāpurāṇa* states that there are sixteen *Mahāvākyas*.

Vide, Sarasvati, Vāsudevānanda, *Dattapuraāam*, Krishnadas Academy, Varanasi, 1984, p. 340.

Four *mahāvākyas* are, however, referred to conventionally :—*Prajñānaṁ Brahma*, *Ahaṁ Brahmāsmi*, *Tattvamasi* and *Ayamātmā Brahma* from Ṛgveda, Yajurveda, Śāmaveda and Atharvaveda respectively.

To maintain that the world merges into and emerges from the Self qualified by ignorance is tantamount to saying that the world originates from and is dissolved into the individual soul. This position is contrary to the scriptural passage in which the world is said to originate from and merge into the Supreme Self or God called *Sat* or Being. This objection is answered by stating that the Supreme Self or God and the finite self are not two but one principle, appearing as two on account of conditioning. This statement, strange though it may seem to a theologian, is saught to be justified by asserting that the *paramātmā*, the Supreme Self, called *Sat* or 'Being' in the Upaniṣads, appears as conditioned by the three states through ignorance[5] and is consequently reduced to the apparent status of an individual soul. It is noteworthy that in the present context ignorance though equated with the state of deep dreamless sleep, is, in fact, the unmanifest causal state, from which the world originates. The Supreme Self, being the substratum of this ignorance, is said to be the cause of the world in an indirect sense.

That the individual self, conditioned primarily by ignorance, experienced in the state of deep dreamless sleep and consequently in the other two psychic states of dream and walking, is identical with the Supreme Self is made clear by important scriptural evidence from the *Chāndogya* and the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣads*. In the former, Prajāpati's instruction regarding the nature of the self is given in detail, in sections 7 to 12 of the 8th chapter. Both gods and demons heard Prajāpati's statement regarding the nature of the self : 'The self is free from evil, old age, death, grief, hunger and thirst. The desire and thought of the self are real. One should, therefore, seek and desire to understand the self. He who finds and understands the self obtains all worlds and all desires'. On receiving this indirect knowledge about the self and with a view to gaining its direct experience, Indra from among gods and Virocana from among demons approached prajāpati. For thirty two years the two lived with Prajāpati a disciplined life of a student of sacred knowledge Prajāpati, then instructed them : 'The person that is seen in the eye is the self. That is the immortal, the fearless. That is *Brahman*'. Virocana propagated the theory of the self being the body only. But Indra, finding the physical theory inadequate, approached Prajāpati again and sought for further instruction. In course of graded instruction to Indra, Prajāpati further propounded the theories of the dream self and the self in deep dreamless sleep which Indra, on proper thought, found inadequate. Prajāpati, finally instructed Indra regarding the true nature of the self as spirit which though embodied, in fact, transcends the body and bodily feelings and associations. This spiritual self as distinguished from the physical, psychic and causal (conditioned by ignorance) self is the Supreme Self that is immortal and fearless. That is *Brahman.*

---

[5] As darkness in no way can be related to the Sun, ignorance cannot be said to exist in the non-dual, self-luminous and unitary Being. But since the absolutely unitary Being cannot be conceived to have been involved in the process of world-creation, characterised as it is by duality and multiplicity, the *Puruṣasūkta* of the *Ṛgveda*, X. 90, propounds the theory of sacrifice of the *Puruṣa*, the primeval unitary and conscious principle of the world. The Absolute, according to this theory, sacrifices its unitary, self-luminous nature, covering it by self-created principle of concealment, in order to give rise to the process of division and creation of multiplicity. Ignorance is this principle of concealment and is equated with the state of deep sleep, called sub-conscious in modern psychology. As such it is the positive potential state of conscious energy, the unmanitest causal condition of the world,

The objection that prajāpati's instruction relates only to the Supreme Self or only to the individual self or only to the similarity of the two is set aside by showing that it is initiated with the person seen in the eye about whom it is said that he is the immortal, the fearless and is *Brahman*. On Indra's critical thinking, this self is found to be inadequate. Prajāpati, then, explains the same self further, till the true spiritual self that is the Supreme Self is fully explained. Indra's query was about the Supreme Self and prajāpati began to expound the same Supreme Self with the words : " the person seen in the eye ", that is the individual soul. Prajāpati did not wish to deceive Indra by instructing him about some other self and not the Supreme Self about whom he actually desired to be instructed. What Prajāpati wanted Indra to see was that the defects of the physical, psychic and the causal selves, found out by the latter on critical reflection, belonged to the three bodies, namely, the gross, subtle and causal bodies and not to the Self. The Self, therefore, though apparently connected with any of the three bodies and even when conditioned by their corresponding defects, is, according to the enlightened one, none else but the Supreme Self. The unenlightened persons may think that the self is identical with the three bodies during the three states, and is subject to their respective defects, but this viewpoint of theirs is not accurate. Because like a prince who ignorantly believes himself to be a shepherd and subsequently on removal of that ignorance regains his ever-present identity as a prince, the Self too, though ignorantly may believe himself to be this or that body, does never become any of the three bodies.

Moreover, due to absence of the world, in the state of deep sleep, there obtains non-duality and non-dual is the Supreme Self.[6] This is stated in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, IV. 3.32 :—" He becomes (transparent) like water, one, the seer without duality. This is the world of *Brahman*, your Majesty. Thus did Yājñavalkya instruct (Janaka) : This is his highest goal, this is his highest treasure ; this is his highest world ; this is his greatest bliss. On a particle of this very bliss other creatures live. "

If it is maintained that ignorance experienced in the state of deep sleep is the cause of the world, the scriptural statements which declare Supreme Self or God as the cause of the world would be contradicted. In the sixth chapter of the *Chāndoyya Upaniṣad*, there is an assertion :—' By which the unhearable becomes heard, the unperceivable becomes perceived, the unknowable becomes known ' (VI. 1.3). By way of illustration it is stated : ' Just as, my dear, by one clod of clay all that is made of clay becomes known, the modification being only a name arising from speech, while the truth is that it is just clay ', (VI. 1.4). In the same context, it is further stated : ' In the beginning, this was being alone, one only without a second. It created fire. . . . It created waters ' etc. (VI. 2.2-3) All these statements aver that the Supreme Self called Being, transformed itself into the world. How then ignorance can be said to be the cause of the world ?

This objection is answered by pointing out that in the cited quotation there is an emphasis on the clay—the cause—alone being the truth. It is also said that the modification is only a name arising from speech. Modification is thus said to be mere appearance, *mithyā* or relatively real. It cannot be urged that by the words : ' modification is only a name ' is meant the transient nature of the world and not false appearance, because the apparent nature of the world is expounded at the end of the sixth chapter. To a moot question as to how does a person come back in the state of waking if he gets merged into the primeval Being, that is the Supreme Self, during the states of sound sleep and death, it is stated : ' They lead up a man seized by the hand, saying, ' he has stolen, he has committed a theft, heat the axe for him '. If he is the doer of that (theft), he makes himself untrue. Being given to untruth, he takes hold of the heated axe, is burnt and then killed. But if he is not the doer of that (theft), he makes himself true. Being given to truth, covered by truth, he takes hold of the heated axe, he is not burnt and then is released, (VI. 15.1-2).

---

[6] The state of deep sleep is evidently characterized by non-duality, but the same is not consciously realised in that state. It is for this very purpose that the process of introspection stated in the other parts of the Upaniṣad, has to be followed. The field of unconsious state of sleep is then lighted up, and one, as if, enters the state of deep sleep with full awareness. The Self then, perceives the Self within the Self, for that is the ultimate non-dual reality.

The purport of this illustration is that a person during the states of sound sleep and death, coverīng himself with untrue world, merges into the Supreme Self and therefore comes back, whereas a person who severs his relation with the untrue world in the state of liberation and gets merged into the Supreme Self and does not come back but is released. This proves that the world is an appearance and is ultimately unreal.

The scriptures (i.e. the Upaniṣads) thus concur to the view that ignorance is the direct cause of the world and the Supreme Self, being the subtrate of ignorance, is also said to be the cause of the world indirectly. In *Kaṭha Upniṣad,* (I. 3.11) this ignorance is referred to as *avyakta* or non-manifest which is the same as the causal body experienced in the state of deep sleep.[7] The place of the *avyakta*, the unmanifest, in the hierachical schema of cosmic principles is shown through a metaphor of chariot :—

' Know the Self as the lord of the chariot and the body as the chariot. Know the intellect as the charioteer and the mind as the reins.

' The senses, they say, are the horses; the sense-objects the path '.[8]

The order of these principles in the hierarchy is, then, indicated :—

' Beyond the senses are the sense-objects and beyond the objects is the mind; beyond the mind is the intellect and beyond the intellect the great self.

' Beyond the great self is the unmanifest; beyond the unmanifest is the Self. Beyond the Self, there is nothing. That is the end (of the chariot's journey), that is the final goal '.[9]

The Self, the final goal, is the highest step or abode of Viṣṇu, the Lord, (referred to in the *Ṛgveda*, I. 22.20) and can be attained through controlling the senses and the mind by intellect :—

He who has the intellect for the driver of the chariot and controls the rein of his mind, he reaches the end of the journey, that supreme abode of the all-pervading Lord Viṣṇu '.[10]

---

[7] This fact accords with the concept of unconscious in modern psychology. The individual unconscious, at its deeper layers, is related to the collective unconscious. The Upaniṣads envisage the latter to be a fraction of the cosmic state of inchoate, undifferentiated nature.

[8] *Kaṭha Upaniṣad*, I. 3.3-4.

[9] *Ibid*, I. 3.10-11.

[10] *Ibid*, I. 3-9.

The non-manifest is the positive principle of ignorance, also referred to in the scriptures and *smṛtis* as *māyā*, *avidyā* and *prakṛti*. The statement 'I did not know (myself)' made by one on awaking from sonnd sleep, is supposed to provide an experiential evidence for the existence of positive ignorance which is not merely absence of knowledge and which cannot be described either as existent or as non-existent.[11] It is through this ignorance that the world as an appearance —*vivarta*—is superposed on God. Since the ignorance is the ground of both empirical knowledge and its absence, it cannot be removed by any amount of phenomenal knowledge. The knowledge (of the nature of direct perception) of the Self, the ultimate reality, being its counter-principle, can alone eliminate the root ignorance together with its off-shoots.

It is further shown that in the case of erroneous comprehension, such as nacre known as silver or sweet things known as bitter or static things known as moving, the basic ignorance is the cause, only supplemented by defects like twilight, bile and contact of a moving vehicle like a raft or a train respectively.

The individual soul, according to the author, is identical with the Supreme Soul, not only after emancipation but also during the three psychic states. This position, it is urged, contradicts those scriptural passages which distinguish the two and also fails to explain the empirical transactions involving the distinction between God and the individual soul. This objection is answered by saying that the scriptural passages speaking of the distinction of the two, in fact, through the description of the conditioning of individual soul, seek to convey the idea that even during such conditioning, the self remains unaffected and is, therefore, ever the Supreme Self alone. It is due to delusion that the Supreme Self believes himself to be the finite self and this is how the empirical dealings involving distinction of the two are carried out.

---

[11] Ignorance, the principle of unmanifest, though positive, cannot be described either as existent or as non-existent, because human reason invariably conceives existence in terms of objective existence like that of the Sun, earth, tree and the like. Ignorance (rather Being, the substratum of ignorance) in the present context is the primordial causal state and as such is the pre-supposition of both subjective and objective existence. Hence its inconceivability in terms of empirical categories.

It would be interesting in this context to know that the *Ṛgveda*, X. 129.1 and the *Bhagavadgītā*, XIII.13. state that the causal state of the world or the *Brahman* cannot be described as *sat*, existent or *asat*, non-existent, since it transcends the empirical categories of subjective and objective existence. Human reason normally conceives dream-experience, hallucination and the like as falling within the category of subjective existence and the earth, trees, stones and the like under the category of objective existence. Still, however, the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, VI. 2. 1-2 rightly states that the causal state of the world must be described as *sat*, Being, for logically existence cannot be said to derive from *asat* or non-Being. Eckhart is in agreement with this argument for he states :— "Being itself is not added to things as if it came after them, but it is before all things. Being itself does not receive anything either from anything nor by anything, neither is it appended to nor does it follow anything, but it precedes and is prior to all things."

—Eckhart quoted in *Mysticism : East and West*, by Rudolf Otto, Meridian Books, New York, 1957, p. 8.

Incidentally the problem whether the individual soul is delimited by *avidyā* or is a reflection of the Supreme Self in *avidyā* is discussed.[12] Since the author maintains that it is the Supreme Self that, through delusion, appears as the individual soul, the latter, he stases, cannot be regarded as a part or fraction *aṁśa* of the former. Out of the two theories of delimitation and reflection, therefore, he prefers none but considers the reflection theory as more plausible because according to it the individual soul can be shown as possessing the appearance of otherness due to an error of judgement. According to the theory of delimitation, the presence of God in the individual soul as its inner controller stated in the scriptures cannot be explained, because consciousness conditioned by *avidyā* is, as a rule, the individual soul. The phenomenon of reflection can be explicated neither as the entrance of the image into mirror, nor as the transformation of any part of the mirror into the image. Reflection is scientifically explained as impact of ocular rays on clean, transparent surfaces and consequent throwing back of those rays to their source, creating the illusion of otherness of the image.

The question how can the Supreme Self, the absolute, non-dual Being, self-luminous as it is, through ignorance, come to believe itself as the individual self, is answered by saying that the experience 'I do not know' establishes the existence of such ignorance in respect of 'I' It is further stated that this fallacions argument has to be negated by direct personal experience of the ultimate non-dual reality. In fact, to describe it as 'a fallacious argument' implies that the relation of ignorance and the self-luminous Being is conceivable only empirically on the strength of the datum of mundane experience. But from the strict logical point of view an empirical element or datum of experience cannot be made applicable to the transcendental dimension of pure Being.

---

[12] Though Śrī Śaṅkarācārya referred to both *avacchedavāda* and *pratibimbavāda* in his commentaries on the *Brahmasūtras*, Upaniṣads and the *Bhagavadgītā* without, however, showing his preference to either. Latter writers on advaita Vedānta differed on this point. As a result, two schools, namely *vivaraṇaprasthāna*, maintaing the reflection theory and *bhāmatīprasthāna* supporting the delimitation theory, came into existence. The earlier school is traced to *Pancapāḍika*, a gloss on *śānkarabhāṣya*, written by Padmapādācārya and *Vivaraṇa* on *Pancapādikā*, composed by Prakāśātma Muni. The latter school derives from the commentary *bhāmatī* on *śāṅkarabhāṣya*, written by Vācaspati Miśra.

Further, it is maintaind that both the worlds, gross and subtle, experienced during the states of waking and dream respectively, since they negate and get merged into each other, are only relatively real for all empirical purposes for their corresponding subject. It cannot be argued that since one does not experience the unreality of the world of objects of the state of waking and a revised sense of awakening at the end of the wakeful state, as one experiences the unreality of dream-objects and a sense of awakening at the end of the state of dream, it cannot be maintained that like the dream-state the wakeful state does not get merged into any other state of higher enlightenment, because unlike the wakeful state which ushers in automatically and is accessible to all without any effort and which serves the purpose of the condition to negate the dream-state, the full spiritual enlightenment, involving the direct perception of the non-dual Self which is neither automatic, nor is accessible to all without effort, is the ineluctable condition to negate the world of objects experienced in the state of waking. It is necessary in this regard to bear in mind that unlike the dream-objects which are stated in the scriptures to have been created by the subject of dream-state, the objects of the world experienced in the state of waking are not created by the subject of the wakeful state. They are created, rather projected, from the witnessing consciousness that underlies all the three states and which can be realised as one's true identity by a prolonged and rigorous discipline of mind, ethical preparedness compounded with constant self-inquiry.

Though of the nature of appearance, caused by ignorance, the world does not disappear on knowing the Self like the dream-objects on waking, because of the persistance of the adjunct that is the body. Apart from ignorance, certain erroneous perceptions, like that of two moons and of the reflection, are caused by the presence of physical adjucts like pressing the corner of the eye with the finger and that of the clean-surfaced objects like mirror and the like. In the latter cases, it is observed that even after knowledge of the oneness of the moon and the image, the erroneous perception of the second moon and the reflection of the image persist untill the physical adjunct causing the erroneous perception is removed.

The order in which the elements, with both percipient and perceived aspects, are produced, is stated in the scriptures. When in *avidyā* or ignorance that conceals the Supreme Self, the *tamas* or the quality of inertia preponderates, there arises the space ; from space air, from air fire, from fire water and from water the earth emanate. From these elements when they are separate, that is, in subtle form technically called *tanmātrā*, and are under the influence of *sattva* or the quality of light, the cognitive senses arise : ear, the sense of hearing arises from space, skin, the sense of touch from air, eye, the sense of sight from fire, tongue, the sense of taste from water and nostril, the sense of smell from the earth arise in order.[13] When the elements are commingled, under the influence of *sattva* arises the *antaḥkaraṇa* or the internal organ. This is why though each cognitive sense grasps, only its corresponding object, the internal organ comprehends objects of all the cognitive senses. The internal organ, from the functional point of view, is twofold : mind and intellect, the organs that help ordering of sensuous perceptions and formation of judgements. Similarly when the elements are distinct and are under the influence of *rajas*, the quality of dynamism, there arise the conative senses, namely speech, hands, feet, the organs of excretion and generation. When, however, the elements are indistinct and are under the influence of *rajas,* the life-breath arises which, functionally, is five-fold :—*prāna*, the in-breath, *apāna*, the out-breath, *vyāna*, the diffused breath, *udāna*, the up-breath and *samāna*, the equlising breath. These seventeen constitutive principles —five material elements, five cognitive senses, five conative senses, mind and intellect—form both the subtle world of dream when they are subtle and the gross world of waking when they become gross by the process of blending called *pañcīkaraṇa.*

While ignorance about the true nature of the Self persists, the principle of subjectivity during the perception of the subtle and the gross world is differentiated on the basis of individual and cosmic existence. Accordingly, the subject that perceives the subtle cosmic existence is designated as *hiraṇyagarbha* and that perceiving its individual counterpart is called *taijasa.* Similarly, the subject that perceives the gross cosmic existence is known as *virāt* and that perceiving its

---

13. This concept of Indian philosophy is remarkable insofar as it envisages the essential correlation of the different sensible objects grasped by the olfactory, gustatory, ocular, tactile and aural sense faculties and traces the origin of both the percipient and perceived aspects of reality to the unitary principle of egoity. This correlation scientifically explains why a specific object is congenial to and cognised by a specific sense only and eliminates the antinomy that arises from the mutually exclusive concepts of realism and idealism. The protagonists of realism advocate the existence of distinct objects independent of being known by a mind, whereas the idealists seek to reduce objects as merely shadows of eternal, real, archetypal ideas. Kant could not reconcile himself to the opposition of form and matter as two poles of being, as if eternally confronting each other and attempted to synthesize them as concepts of reflection on par with identity and difference, agreement and opposition.

cf. Ernst, Cassirer, *The Philosophy of Symbolic Forms*, Vol. III, Tr. by Ralph Manheim, Yale University, New Haven and London, 1957, Intr. pp. 9.1o.

individual counterpart is named as *viśva*. In this context it is necessary to bear in mind that the principle of subjectivity conditioned by individual conceit lasts so long as ignorance of the Self is not eliminated through proper discipline. On the direct perception of the non-dual Self as the ultimate, unitary principle of true subjectivity, the conceit of cosmic subjectivity aries, since at that moment of all-inclusive perception, the whole universe is seen as appearing in the non-dual Supreme Self. The clarity about the purport of the scriptural teaching automatically arises when one achieves the ultimate judgement that the world appears in me, the Supreme Self. Till such judgement arises, there is no direct perception of the ultimate, non-dual Reality. The assertion that the person who attains Self-realisation perceives the world as an appearance within himself which, in other words, is tantamount to saying that he becomes all, is corroborated by the scripture. Through *brahmavidyā* or the knowledge of *Brahman*, the scripture avers, one becomes all, for the simple reason that any finite being—be he a deity, a sage or a human being—is, in fact, an infinitismal part in the vast process of becoming which the primeval non-dual, self-conscious and absolute Being[14] is incessantly undergoing. Therefore, any finite being that awakes to his original nature as infinite Self-conscious Being, finds the cosmic process of becoming as an ever-occurring event taking place within himself. The scripture also quotes from the *Ṛgveda* the often-repeated illustration of the seer Vāmadeva who, at the moment of the perception of the non-dual *Brahman*, also saw simultaneously, the world as an unending process of becoming within himself.

Since the instance of the Vedic seer Vāmadeva demonstrates simultaneity of the perception of the non-dual reality and that of being all, and this fact being admitted by Śaṅkara in his commentary on the *Brahmasūtra* (I. 1.30), a sequential order of the two cannot be admitted. It cannot, therefore, be maintained that one perceives the non-dual reality during the state of *samādhi* or yogic trance and then, on arising from it, one sees the world as an appearance within himself. Moreover, the suffix *śan* in *paśyan* in the *mantra* ascribed to the seer Vāmadeva clearly indicates simultaneity of two actions like *tiṣṭhan gāyati*, '(he) sings standing'.

It is, therefore, established that the primeval consciousness or the absolute self-conscious Being appears in the form of the two bodies and the two (subtle and gross) worlds. This pure consciousness alone is the ultimate Reality and the two bodies and the two worlds are *mithyā*, that is, only relatively real. You are that consciousness and nothing, therefore, exists apart from you. This understanding has to be gained through recourse to the secondary connotation of the terms 'thou' and 'that', so as to eliminate incompatible portions of their primary denotation.[15]

---

[14] The term *brahman* derives from the root √*bramh*∼to grow. It, therefore, denotes the incessant process of growth or becoming which the infinite Being undergoes.

Incidentally, the three varieties of *lakṣaṇā* are discussed. In certain cases *lakṣaṇā* or secondary meaning has to be restored to. In some cases the primary sense of a term needs to be abandonded completely, in others it needs to be retained together with the secondary connotation and in still other cases the former is only partially abandoned. The third variety is adopted in the present context in order to obtain a consistent meaning of the scriptural dictum, 'that thou art'. For the individual self denoted by 'thou' and the Supreme Self denoted by 'that', cannot be said to be identical. The individual soul, denoted by the primary meaning of the term, 'thou', is qualified by the three bodies, causal, subtle and gross. Similarly, God—the creator—, denoted by the primary sense of the word 'that', is qualified by the creatorship of the subtle and gross worlds. They, therefore, cannot be identical. But the secondary cannotation of both the terms 'thou' and 'that' is the unitary consciousness which underlies the three states of the former and is the substratum of the two worlds created by the latter.

---

[15] The implied identity of the individual self with the Supreme Self, of the creature with the creator, seems apocryphal and blasphemous from the standpoint of theologians, but when it is recalled that it is merely an unbiased interpretation of intuitive experience in which the finite self is completely transcended, one can see the veracity of the scriptural statement. This experience is of the sages from the times even preceding the Vedic age, corroborated by an unbroken tradition of great mystics of India and by all great religious traditions of the world. Eckhart says: "'I am that I am,' (Exodus 3.14)—the 'I' is the pronoun of the first person whose existence is His essence and who has no essence beyond this existence which Being signifies"

—Eckhart quoted in *Mysticism* : *East and West*, *by* Rudolf Otto, Meridian Books, New York, 1957, p. 10, F.N.

James in this regard states: "This overcoming of all barriers between the individual and the Absolute is the great mystic achievement. In mystic states we become one with the Absolute.....This is the everlasting and triumphant mystical tradition hardly altered by differences of clime and creed. In Hinduism, in Neo-Platonism, in Sufism, in Christian Mysticism, in Whitemanism, we find the same recurring note....which ought to make the critic stop and think."

—James, William., *The Varieties of Religious Experience*, Modern Library, Inc. New York, 1965, p. 410.

Stace opines that the mysticism of the East is more sure of itself, more full-grown, more profound and all-embracing than the somewhat fumbling and immature mysticism of even the greatest Western mystics. The mysticism of Europe is an ameteure affair compared with the mysticism of Asia.

—Stace, W. T., *Mysticism and Philosophy*, J. B. Lippincott, Philadelphia and New York, 1960, p. 174.

It is, therefore, established that the world, at the time of the deep sleep, merges into the witnessing consciousness called the Supreme Self. During the states of dream and waking the subtle and gross worlds emerge from the said witnessing consciousness. This absolute consciousness is the eternal, pure, ever-enlightned and ever-free Supreme Self. The preceptor instructed the pupil through the purport of the scriptural sentence that you are that consciousness. The disciple, then, through reflection and single-minded contemplation, attains to the perception of the non-dual reality, by overcoming the notion of impossibility of the conditioned soul being the Supreme Self and the impossibility of the mind ever comprehending the absolute and the perverse conviction that he could not be anything but the body.

The Supreme Self being the witnessing consciousness is always immediately present and directly perceived as stated in the scripture. " The *Brahman* that is immediately present and directly perceived, who is the Self in all things ", (Bṛ. up. III. 3.1). The dictum only removes ignorance about the ever-present inner self as the sentence ' you are the tenth '[16] removes the ignorance about the ever-present tenth person. It cannot, therefore, be maintained that like the injunction in the *karmakāṇḍa* portion of the Veda regarding the attainment of heaven through sacrifice, mere understanding of the meaning of which does not bring about the said result, the meaning of the scriptural sentence too, even fully understood, cannot bring about immediate perception of the Self.

Though the Self is not the object of sense-perception and the scripture too states : ' you cannot see the seer of seeing..you cannot think the thinker of thinking..' (Br. up. III. 4. 2.), it cannot be said that one cannot perceive it, because despite its being beyond the range the means of knowledge like sense-perception and the like, the scripture states that the mind, cultured through self-control, tranquillity and spirit of inquiry, can perceive the non-dual self : ' only by the mind is it to be perceived. In it there is no diversity ", ((Bṛ. up. IV. 4. 19), and ' the Self, hidden in all beings, does not shine forth but can be seen by those subtle seers, through their sharp and subtle intelligence ", (*Kaṭha. Up*. III. 12)

---

[16] The simple nature of the knowledge of the Self is sought to be conveyed by an anecdote. A group of ten friends, on the way to a common destination, had to cross a river. Having forded the river, with a view to ascertain their safe crossing over, each of them counted the other nine members of the group, missing to count himself. Hearing their lamentation on the loss of the tenth, a wise man approached them and pointed out their error by the sentence: ' you are the tenth '. Similarly, human reason, lost as it is in the well-being of the sheaths of the self, misses the self, the real ' I ' which is the underlying constant principle of consciousness present in all psychic states.

It is agreed that on the perception of the Self, ignorance, the root cause of the body is destroyed. Nevertheless, like the speed of an already discharged arrow, the *prārabdha*, or the action which has given rise to the present body of the liberated person remains; therefore, the body too remains. Otherwise, the concept of *jīvanmukti* or salvation while alive and the status of preceptor like that of Yājñavalkya (who instructed Janaka, the king of Videha) will be impertinent. The qualifications of a preceptor, as stated in the scripture, clearly indicate that he must be *śrotriya*, well-versed in the Veda and *brahmaniṣṭha*, established in the *Brahman*. Though there are scriptural statements to the effect that all the actions (including *prārabdha*) of a self-realised person are destroyed, the scripture itself and the *smṛti* speak about the continuance of the body of the liberated person. There is no contradiction of the said two kinds of scriptural statements, because the statement about the destruction of all actions of a liberated person is general and is superseded by the specific scriptural statement about the continuation of his body. This is also corroborated by the experience of the liberated persons in all times and climes. Unlike *prārabdha*, the *saṁcita* or the collected actions (in the form of subtle impressions stored in the sub-conscious mind) and the present actions (actually being performed by a liberated person) are completely destroyed.

A person who is liberated while alive appears to be engaged in normal human actions, but he is free from self-willed actions impelled by attachment and hatred. He may appear as if doing actions out of attachment and hatred, but this is true only from the view-point of the ignorant; from his own point of view he does not act at all. Moreover, his actions are free, there being no obligation on him for Vedic or worldly actions. His actions are essentially unmotivated insofar as there is no desire to gain any end or to avoid any evil. Further, a liberated person appears as having the conceit of the body and consequent experience of pleasure and pain only in the ignorant person's view. From his own stand-point he has already transcended the conceit of the body and does not, therefore, experience pleasure or pain. His abidance in the body and experience of pleasure and pain are technically called *bādhitānuvṛtti* or continuance of the sublated. He, therefore, though perceiving the body and the world, does not perceive them.

Incidentally, the distinction of *jñāna*, knowledge and *dhyāna*, meditation is brought out. The *prima-facie* view is that both are a sort of mental activity. During meditation, consequent upon the merger of the world, there arises the perception (knowledge) of *Brahman*, the non-dual ultimate reality and after the meditation, one perceives the world characterised by multiplicity. In other words, one cannot perceive the non-dual *Brahman* and the multiple world simultaneously, as the two are mutually exclusive like light and darkness. The scripture too negates the perception of multiplicity during meditation : " Where, verily, everything has become the Self, then by what and whom should one see.... " and " Where there is duality, as it were, there one sees another.... ", (Bṛ. Up. II. 4.14). It is evident, therefore, that the perception of the *Brahman* and that of the world take place at different times. How can it be maintained, then, that the liberated person though perceiving the body and the world, does not perceive them at the same time, through the modality called continuance of the sublated ?

This objection is answered by saying that knowledge and meditation, though both are mental actions, are altogether different, as their definitions differ entirely. Knowledge is always objective, generated only by valid means of knowing and having no specific result apart from itself. Whereas, meditation, irrespective of the object, is generated through one's desire and effort and has a specific result. Meditation can be undertaken or not undertaken or undertaken in a different manner, according to one's desire; not so knowledge. For instance taking *śālagrama* to be Viṣṇu is meditation and understanding it as stone is knowledge. In the present context the object of knowledge is the non-dual *Brahman* which is eternal, all-pervasive and is one's own self. How can it remain unperceived after the meditation is over. Even during the state of ignorance, the perception of the Self persists in the form. ' I am ' unhappy. In the state of knowledge, the affection of the Self with unhappiness and the like is seen as merely apparent, not real. Under no circumstance, therefore, the perception of the Self is destroyed. The aforesaid scriptural statements regarding the perception of the non-dual Self and that of the multiple world seek to establish the fact that in the states of enlightenment and ignorance the world characterised by multiplicity is apprehended as merely appearance and as real in itself respectively; but not the merger of the world during the state of meditation and its emergence after the meditation. Otherwise the Ṛgvedic *mantra* : " Seeing indeed that, the seer Vāmadeva knew ' I became Manu and the Sun ' ", and the verse of Gita, " (while doing any action) the enlightened one should think ' I don't act at all ' ", both establishing the simultaneity of the perception of the *Brahman* and that of the world will be contradicted. The use of the suffix *śan* in *paśyan*, as already pointed out earlier, indicates, as a rule, the simultaneity of two actions. It is, therefore, established that the enlightened one, through the mode of continuity of the sublated, does, indeed, not experience the bodily pleasure and pain, though apparently experiencing them. After the attainment of knowledge of the *Brahman*, the practice of meditation and the like are not obligatory to the knower of *Brahman* but are merely for the enjoyment of the bliss arising from the state of liberation while still alive. Madhusūdana Sarasvati observes that the knowledge of the reality, destruction of the mind and annihilation of the *vāsanās*, (the latent psychic tendencies), if practised simultaneously, confirm the state of liberation while alive.

The author remarks that those who maintain that even after enlightenment the difference of God and the individual soul persists, because *avīdyā* the adjunct of the latter is destroyed on knowing the Self but *māyā* which is the adjunct of the former does persist, are ignorant about the profound tenets of the *advaita*-doctrine, traditionally handed down. In fact, no such dichotomy obtains after the perception of the non-dual *Brahman*, since ignorance which is the root cause of both *avidya* (its *āvaranaśakti*) and *māyā* (its *vikṣepaśakti*) is destroyed on the said perception. It needs to be borne in mind that though at the time of the perception of the *Brahman*, ignorance is destroyed, together with its destruction, only its *āvaranaśakti* or its concealing power is eliminated, but on the destruction of *prārabdha* and therefore that of the body, its *vikṣepaśakti* or the power that creates the world, is also got rid of, as a result of which the enlightened one attains *videhākaivalya*, involving merely the loss of body and nothing more. The identity between the individual soul and the *Brahman* had already been established at the time of the perception of the non-dual reality. The person who realises the non-dual reality, therefore, is not born again, since he is convinced about his own nature as none other but the Supreme Self. The *Gītā* states : " Though acting in every way, he is not born again ", (Bh. G. XIII. 23).

It cannot be urged that the *Gītā* speaks about emancipation on discrimination of the *prakṛti* or Nature, *puruṣa* or the individual soul and *parameśvara* or the Lord (the controller of both), and not about the identity of the individual self and the Supreme Self. Because in the verse 19, the topic begins with the discussion of the *prakṛti* and *puruṣa* only. The third principle, the Lord is not mentioned in it :—" Know thou that *prakṛti* (Nature) and *puruṣa* (Soul) are both beginningless ", (Bh. G. XIII. 19). In the verse 22, though the Lord is mentioned as the Witness and Impeller, His distinctness from the Soul is not stated, since in the conclusion of the topic, again only the two principles, referred to above, are stated : " He who thus knows the *puruṣa* (Soul) and the *prakṛti* (Nature) with the modes, though acting in every way, he is not born again ", (Bh. G. XIII. 23).

Prakṛti (Nature) in this context is *māyā* and not the independent *pradhāna* of the Sāṅkhya system, otherwise the statements to the effect that all this is the Lord Vāsudeva alone and, that through the Lord alone all this (world) is supported, implying that the Lord alone is the material cause of the world, will be contradicted. *Prakṛti*, therefore, is the same as *māyā*. The Supreme Self when identified with *māyā* is called *jīva* or the soul and when freed from *māyā*, he is the Supreme Self. The verse 22, states this truth clearly. : " The Supreme Spirit in the body (i.e. *prakṛti*) is said to be the Witness, the Permitter the Supporter, the Experiencer, the Great Lord and the Supreme Self ", (Bh. G. XIII. 22).

This same *puruṣa*, when transcends the *prakṛti*, is the Supreme Self, though inhabiting the body. The scripture, therefore, rightly speaks of the enlightened person, as being the creator of the world:—" Whoever has found and has awakened to the Self that has entered this perilous inaccessible place (the body), he is the maker of the universe, for he is the maker of all. His is the world ; indeed, he himself is the world ", (Bṛ. up. IV 4.13). The great axiom (that thou art) rightly states that you are the Supreme Self. For the enlightened one, therefore, there is no obligation of any sort.

The concluding benedictory first verse conveys the idea that for a person who seeks identity with the Self effulgent like millions of Suns, abiding in his own heart, the status of Indra, the Lord of Gods, is a mere trifle. In the second verse it is pointed out that without the grace of the Divine Mother (the universal consciousness), none, not even Indra, can succeed in knowing the non-dual ultimate reality and in putting an end to the transmigratory existence.

5. Relevance and Appraisal of the Work :

The Western philosophical thought, particularly the theory of realism views the world as a huge machine, made up of separate individual objects, mind being one of them. Nature is conceived to be operating according to mechanical laws. Descartes extended the mechanistic view of the universe to all beings including man, reducing him to the status of matter, though inhabited by rational soul, to be studied like the concepts of physics. This trend of thought, on the one hand, facilitated the success of science and technology ; on the other, it ushered in the era of unprecedented self-alienation of man who could now be manipulated according to modern socio-political ideologies also inspired by the Cartesian mechanistic world-view.

" In contrast to the mechanistic view, " observes Fritjof Capra, " the Eastern view of the world could be called organic, holistic, or ecological. For the Eastern mystic, all things and phenomena we perceive with our senses, are connected, and are but different aspects or manifestations of the same ultimate reality. Our tendency to divide the perceived world into separate things and to experience ourselves as isolated egos in this world is seen as an illusion which comes from our measuring and categorising mentality. In the view of mystics, the cosmos is seen as one inseparable reality which is forever in motion, alive, organic, spiritual and material at the same time".[17]

The profound insight of the Eastern mystics is that this unity of all that exists—the uni-verse—can be comprehended only through the transcendental principle of subjectivity which encompasses and underlies the totality of the objective existence. The Upaniṣad, without prevaricating about this point, affirms :—

---

[17] Capra, Fritjof, *The New Vision of Reality, a Synthesis of Eastern Wisdom and Western Science*, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1983, pp. 5 ff.

ātmā vā are draṣṭavyah śrotavyo mantavya nididhyāsitavyah Maitreyi ātmano vā are darśanena śravaṇena matyā vijñānenedaṁ sarvaṁ viditam.

" Verily, Maitreyi, the Self should be seen, heard of, reflected upon and meditated. Verily, by seeing, hearing, thinking of and understanding the Self, all this (universe) is known " [18]

yasmin dyauḥ pṛthivī cāntarikṣam otam manaḥ saha prāṇaiś ca sarvaiḥ, tamevaikaṁ jānatha ātmānam, anyā vāco vimuñcatha, amṛtasyaiṣa setuḥ.

" He in whom the sky, the earth and the interspace are woven as also the mind along with all the vital breaths, know him alone as the one Self. Renounce other utterances. This is the bridge to immortality " [19]

Exclusive emphasis on the investigation of the objective reality in the natural sciences tends to overlook the importance of the status of the subject and to that extent renders the theory of scientific knowledge or the general epistemology inadequate. This inadequacy necessitates an analogous scientific specification of the principle of subjectivity. Kant, while introducing the concept of the ' unity of appreception ', in fact, sought to bring in the stream of the scientific thinking this very principle of subjectivity. Modern researches in the field of nuclear physics indicated the necessity to specify the position of the onlooker when the sub-atomic particles turned out to be very abstract entities, and appeared, depending on how we look at them, sometimes as particles and sometimes as waves. Capra, the leading physicist and philosopher, states that at the beginning of our century the researches proved that the atoms, as believed since antiquity, were not solid particles, but contained regions of empty space in which extremely small particles, the electrons, moved around the nucleus. When the quantum theory, the theoretical foundation of atomic physics, was worked out in the 1920s, it became clear that even the sub-atomic particles, i.e., the electons, protons and neutrons in the nucleus, were nothing like the solid objects of classical physics, but were very abstract entities, appearing, depending on how we look at them, sometimes as particles and sometimes as waves. This dual picture was puzzling, since a wave spreads in the space and negates the possibility of sharp location. This apparent contradiction between the particle and the wave pictures was solved in a completely unexpected way. At the sub-atomic level, matter does not exist with certainty in definite places but rather shows ' tendencies to exist '. This gave a blow to the very foundation of the mechanistic world-view. At the sub-atomic level, then, the solid material objects of classical physics dissolve into

---

18. *Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad*, II. 4.5.
19. *Muṇḍakopaniṣad*, II. 2.5.

wave-like patterns of probabilities. These patterns, ultimately, do not represent probabilities of things but those of interconnections. If viewed as isolated, they have no meaning, but can only be understood as interconnections between the process of observation and measurement. Atomic physics, thus, reveals the basic oneness of the universe.[20]

The interconnections between the process of observation and measurement revealed by the most modern researches in the field of nuclear physics, suggest the need for scientific consideration and specification of the role of the observer. It is though the observer, the subject, that the myriad objects derive their being and meaning ; outside their relation to the subject they become meaningless or *śūnya* or nothing to use the Buddhistic term.

It is the organising activity of the rational soul that makes the conception of objectivity possible. Cassirer, in this regard, observes that the 'revolution in method' which Kant brought to theoretical philosophy rests on the fundamental idea that the relation between cognition and its object, generally accepted until then, must be radically modified. Instead of starting from the object as the known and given, we must begin with the law of cognition, which alone is truly accessible and certain in a primary sense....only if this is done, can objectivity become conceivable.[21] James opines that so long as we deal with the cosmic and the general, we deal only with the symbols of reality, but as soon as we deal with the private and personal phenomena as such, we deal with realities in the completest sense of the term....It is a fact of the kind to which all realities whatsoever must belong.[22]

It is, therefore, necessary to determine, with scientific precision, the nature of the subject, the epistemological and logical counterpart of the object. Since the being of man is not limited to what is sensible and since the inner realms of man extend beyond the conscious level and plunge into an altogether other dimension of existence, it becomes obligatory for an investigator to explore the sub-conscious area of our psyche which is closely related to the conscious one. The morphology of knowledge too suggests the trans-physical nature of the knowing self. For knowledge is essentially a logical construction and not merely the sum of diverse responses of the senses to the immediate environment.

A fresh approach to the subject—the knowing self—has to be made through the door-way of the sub-conscious with which the seekers after the spiritual self, of all times and climes, feel themselves connected. James proposes an hypothesis that whatever it might be on its farther sides, the 'more' or the extra-normal, with which in religious experience we feel ourselves connected, is on its higher side the sub-conscious continuation of our conseious life. We start thus with a recognised psychological fact as our basis and preserve a contact with science. The higher is thus primarily the higher faculties of our own hidden mind which control our conscious actions. This door-way into the subject is the best one for the science of the self. He further maintains that Mr. Myres in his work, *Human Personality in the Light of Recent Research* (1961) for the first time, proposed, as a general psychological problem, the exploration of the sub-liminal region of consciousness throughout its whole extent, and made the first methodical steps in its topography by treating it as a natural science.[23]

---

[20] Capra, Fritjof, *op.cit*, pp. 7, 8.

[21] Ernst Cassirer, *The Philosophy of Symbolic Forms*, Yale University, New Haven, 1953, p. 78.

[22] James, William, *The Varieties of Religious Experience*, the Fontana Library, Collins, London 1975, pp. 475ff.

It is this very field of the exploration of the layers of the sub-conscions that the Upaniṣads excel. The *mahāvākyas* or the great axioms from their quintessence. As stated earlier, the *mahāvākyas* affirm the oneness of the individual soul and the Supreme Self—the transcendental principle of subjectivity—that enfolds and sustains the whole of the objective existence, the knowledge of which therefore, is the precondition of omniscience and immortality.

The Supreme Self, though the core and the basis of the individual soul, because of its transcendent nature and status as the Witness even of the conditioned, finite self and its different psychic states, cannot be known, though the emperical, discursive modes of knowing, like an object :—

> "The self-born pierced the opening (of the senses) outward; one, therefore, looks outward and not within oneself. Some wise men, however, seeking immortality, with his sight turned inward, perceives the Self".[24]

This turning the sight inward, in order to perceive the Self, Involves exploration of the sub-conscious, bringing its dark and perilous contents into the focus of awareuess and ultimately illumining the unconscious beyond which lies the unitary, transcendental principle of subjectivity, the ultimate reality, besides which the Upaniṣads don't recognise any god. It is essentially a state of consciousness in which the fourth dimension of man's being is revealed and where the distinctions of the subject and object are transcended and resolved. The attainment of this higher state of consciousness and the perception of the hitherto unknown dimension of man's inner being obliterates the inchoate divisions like inner and outer, subjective and objective consciousness, since the absolute Being that is conscious of itself alone is neither having an inside nor outside—*anantaram abāhyam*—, is neither having subjective consciousness nor objective consciousness, nor having both subjective and objective consciousness but a single block of consolidated consciousness, *nāntaḥprajñaṁ na bahiṣprajñam nobhayataḥprajñam prajñānaghanaṃ*. It is the emergence of separative ego in the absolute unitary consciousness or the trans-subjective reality, as pointed out by Capra, that the illusory dichotomy of the subject and object, inner and outer arises. It is, therefore, evident that without complete transcendence of the finite self—the indivdual ego—there cannot be the perception of the unitary, transcendental principle of subjectivity. And the complete self-transcendence, the pre-condition for turning the sight inward, is extremely difficult as the machinations of the persistent ego are too subtle and elusive, to grasp, control and finally eliminate. The Upaniṣads point to a way out of this impasse :—

---

[23] *Ibid*, p. 487. It is to be noted that James seems not to have consulted the descriptions of the constitution of the inner levels of human personality found in the Upaniṣads, nor does he seem to have appraised himself of the Patañjali's systematic treatment of *yoga*, as an in-depth study of para-psychology. Otherwise, he might not have used the phrase " for the first time " for the attempt of Mr. Myres.

[24] *Kaṭhopaniṣad*, II. 1.1.

tadvijñānārthaṁ sa gurumevābhigacchet samitpāṇiḥ śrotriyam brahmaniṣṭham.

" For the sake of the knowledge (of the Self), let him only approach, with sacrificial sticks in hand, a preceptor who is learned in the scriptures and established in *Brahman* ".[25]

The necessity of a preceptor established in *Brahman* is not emphasized only because the active and effective guidance of an experienced teacher is needed to get rid of the subtle machinations of the ego, but also because a realised Soul alone is capable of transmitting the essentially spiritual experience to a deserving recipient with or without the use of words.

In India, from the Vedic times and even earlier, there has been an unbroken tradition of this experiential knowledge of the non-dual, transcendent reality. Significantly the author Jayarāma refers to the Ṛgvedic hymn of the seer Vāmadeva (Ṛ. V. IV. 26.1), as recording the spiritual experience of the non-dual reality and the simultaneous perception of being one with the world. This experience may be termed scientific insofar as it can be had by anyone provided he qualifies for the same. The objective exploration is designated as science. The inquiry of the transcendental principle of subjectivity too is natural science, though it is a graded research in the field of the states of consciousness which by nature are extra-normal. Science, as a search after truth, has to widen its scope and at times adopt a new methodology to accommodate other legitimate modes of knowledge. Direct personal experience, accessible to all, provided certain basic *apparatus criticus* are fulfilled, is one such mode. *Mahāvākyadarśa* is a critique of knowledge obtained through an analysis and interpretation of human experience.

---

[25] *Muṇḍakopaniṣad*, I. 2.12.

The profoundest insight of the Indian philosophers is the highest position of man in the nature's hierarchy.

guhyaṁ brahma tadidam vo bravīmi,
na mānuṣāc chreṣṭhataraṁ hi kiñcit.

" I tell you this secret *Brahman :* there is nothing higher than man "[26]

The human problem has recently attracted the attention of the eminent thinkers in the West. Eliade says that it is the *human condition* (author's italics), and above all the temporality of the human being, that constitutes the object of the most recent Western philosophy. It is this temporality that makes all other " conditionings " possible and that, in the last analysis, makes man a " conditioned being " . . . . Now this problem of " conditioning " of man and its corrolary, rather neglected in the West, his " deconditioning ", constitutes the central problem of Indian thought. From the Upaniṣads onward, India has been seriously preoccupied with but one great problem—the structure of the human condition. Hence all Indian philosophy has been, and still is, " existentialist ".[27]

Cassirer developed Kant's seminal concept of the subject's ineluctable position in the formation of scientific judgement and attempted to show that by making use of sign as a means of stabilizing its fleeting contents, consciousness developed symbolic forms, in the process of determination, in language, art, myth and scientific cognition. Thus it is human spirit which, for the purpose of expression, chooses certain sensuous particulars, the order and meaning of which derive from the spirit. The illusion of an original division between the intelligible and the sensuous, between " idea " and " phenomenon " vanishes. We still remain in the world of " images " but they do not reproduce a self-subsistent world of " things ", rather this is the image-world whose principle and origin are to be sought in an autonomous creation of the spirit. Through it alone we see what we call " reality " and in it alone we possess the reality. For the highest objective truth accessible to the spirit is ultimately the form of its own activity, in which the human spirit now perceives itself and the reality.[28]

This conclusion arrived at by Cassirer through the critique of symbolic forms discursively, was clinched by the Upaniṣadic thinkers intuitively :—

---

[26] *Mahābhārata*, XII. 188.20.

[27] Mircea, Eliade, *Yoga : Immortality and Freedom*, Tr. Willard R. Trask, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, Foreword, p. XVI.

[28] Cassirer Ernst, *op. cit.*, pp. 110–111.

tasmādevaṁvic chānto dānta uparatas titikṣuḥ samāhito bhūtvā ātmanyevātmānaṁ paśyati sarvam ātmanam paśyati.

" Therefore, he who knows it as such, having become calm, self-controlled, withdrawn, patient and collected, sees the Self in his own self, sees all (the whole universe) as the Self ".[29]

---

[29] *Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad*, IV. 4.23.

ABBREVIATIONS

Bhagavad-Gītā	Bh. G.
Bhagavad-Gītā, Guḍhārtha Dīpikā of Madhusūdana Sarasvatī	Bh. G. Gū. Dī.
Bhasma Jābāla Upaniṣad	Bh. Jā. Up.
Brahma Sūtra	Br. Sū.
Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad	Bṛ. Up.
Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad Bhāṣya Vārttika of Sureśvarācārya	Br. Up. Bhā. Vā.
Chāndogya Upaniṣad	Ch. Up.
Chāndogya Upaniṣad Śāṅkara Bhāṣya	Ch. Up. Śāṅ. Bhā.
Kaṭha Upaniṣad	Kaṭh. Up.
Kāṭhaka Saṁhitā	Kāṭh. Saṁ.
Kauṣītakī Upaniṣad	Kauṣ. Up.
Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhita	Mait. Saṁ.
Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad	Muṇḍ. Up.
Pañcadaśī of Vidyāraṇya Muni	Pa.
Praśna Upaniṣad	Pr. Up.
Saṁbhandha Vārttika	Saṁ. Vā.
Skanda Purāṇa	Sk. Pu.
Taittirīyā Upaniṣad	Taitt. Up.

JOURNAL OF THE ORIENTAL INSTITUTE

M. S. UNIVERSITY OF BARODA, BARODA

Editor : **S. G. Kantawala**

The JOURNAL OF THE ORIENTAL INSTITUTE, BARODA is Quarterly published in every September, December, March and June.

SPECIAL FEATURES :

Articles on Indology, Vedic Studies, textual and cultural problems of the Rāmāyaṇa, Epic & Purāṇic studies, Notices of manuscripts, Reviews of books, Survey of contemporary Oriental Journals and the publication of rare works forming the Maharaja Sayajirao University Oriental Series, are some of the features of the Journal.

CONTRIBUTORS TO NOTE :

1. Only typewritten contributions will be accepted. Copies should be retained by the authors for any future reference, as no manuscripts will be returned.

2. In the body of the article Non-English stray words/Sanskrit/Prakrit line/verse must be written either in Devanagari or in transliteration with proper diacritical marks.

3. The sources of citations/statements of any authority quoted should be invariably mentioned in the footnotes which must be written in the following order : (1) Surname, initials of the author or editor, (2) Title of the work, (3) Publisher, (4) Place (5) year of publication and (6) Page No.

4. Whenever an abbreviation is used in an article, its full form should be stated at the first occurrence and should not be repeated.

5. Please give running foot-note numbers from the beginning to the end of the article.

6. The copyright of all the articles published in this Journal of the Oriental Institute will rest with the M. S. University of Baroda, Baroda.

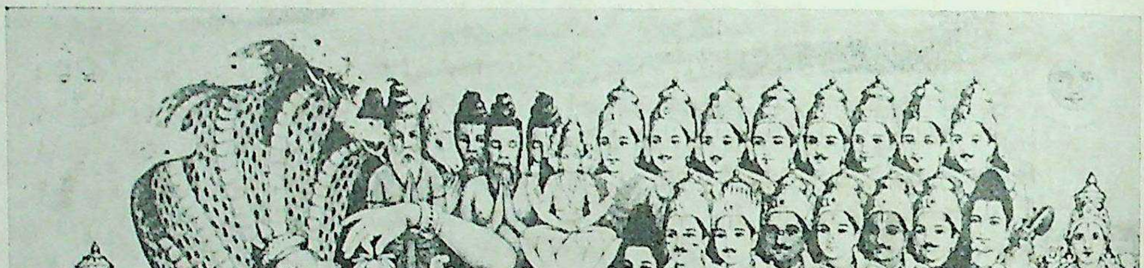
SUBSCRIPTION RATES : ANNUAL :

Inland	Rs. 30/-	(Post-free).
Europe	£ 3.00	(Post-free)
U.S.A.	$ 10.00.	(Post-free)

Subscription is always payable in advance. The yearly subscription is accepted from September to August every year. No subscription will be accepted for less than a year. Subscription/Articles be sent to—

The Director, Oriental Institute, Tilak Road, Opp. Sayajigunj
Tower, Baroda-390 002, Gujarat, India.

Refer to Mr. Purnshottama Bilimoria's article


ANANTHASAYANAM

Śeṣasāyī-Viṣṇu